

Jay Reeves - 251-4221 Assoc. Press.

Judson 438-4206

Shannon - John Hankens 942-2804

Missy -

P. 63-64 Barclay Philippianus

Gada-gnōskein - This verb indicates the most intimate knowledge of ~~Christ~~ another person. Paul says "my object is to know him (Phil. 3: 10) It is not Paul's aim to have sex c Christ but to know him.

- 1) Power of resurrection
- 2) fellowship of his suffering
- 3) to be so united that we share his death & finally resurrection

Prayer
Honor box

Jeremiah's covenant
John 10: 27-28

Cultural & Carnal knowledge



The 1996-97 lecture tour

Courtesy of Dawn Simmons



The wedding of John Paul and transsexual Dawn, formerly Gordon Langley Hall of Charleston, S.C.

Describing *Sex* in post-modern America

Sex and love, menarche and menopause, incest and prostitution, condoms and diaphragms, marriage and dating, homosexuality and bisexuality, abstinence and promiscuity, masturbation and contraception, AIDS and STDs: these are all aspects of human sexuality.

Yet most youngsters spend more time in school learning about stellar bodies than human ones. Leave it to schools to make an area of keen interest to young people irrelevant and boring!

In this series of lectures, Prof. Jim Sears draws from his extensive field work in diverse communities within the United States to describe the absent links between cultural and carnal knowledge.

Lecture titles

- *The Booger Dance, Firewomen & the Keetoowah: Sex on the Reservation*
- *When the River Ain't Wide: Troubled Waters over Beaufort County*
- *Sexual Landscape for Black Urban Youth: Old at 13, Life in the Robert Taylor Projects*
- *Taking Sex out of Sexuality: AIDS, Condoms and Queers in Suburbia*
- *Sex as ... Similes for Sex*
- *Multicultural Sex Education: Tolerance, Diversity, Difference and Differance*
- *Combating Homophobia and Heterosexism: Different Strategies for Different Folks*

Jim's earlier books in this area include *Sexuality and the Curriculum* (1992) and *Bound by Diversity* (1994) and the soon to be released *Combating Homophobia/Heterosexism* (Columbia University Press) as well as *Teaching Sex in America* (Jossey-Bass).

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If one were to rely on books found in lesbian and gay bookstores, one would conclude the South was irrelevant to the contemporary lesbian and gay movement. This lecture series documents lesbian and gay southern history through voices, photos, and memorabilia of four generations of lesbian and gay southerners portrayed against the panorama of 20th-century history and culture.

Using slide/tape presentations, the lectures bring insight into these silenced lives, their private tragedies and public accomplishments, while arguing the provocative thesis that without the South there would have been no gay movement!

Lecture titles

- *Southern Belles & Un-Reconstructed Rebels: Three Centuries of Southern Homosexuality*
- *Miss Bragg and Miss McCormack: A Boston Marriage in Turn-of-the-Century Charleston*
- *Mariel, Pedro and the Latino Struggle Against AIDS and for Identity*
- *Early Jazz and Blues: The Struggle for Black Sexual Identity from New Orleans and Memphis*
- *Femmicks, 22nd Street Beach and the Johns Committee: Miami and McCarthyism*
- *The Gordon Langley Hall Affair: Race and Class in Tidewater Society*
- *Voicing Herstory: Lesbian Writers, Activists and Publications of the Stonewall South*
- *Visiting Inland and Inward: Southern Radical Faeries and Lesbian Separatists*

As the author of the critically acclaimed *Growing up Gay in the South*, Jim offers you his historical insights into gay southern life across four generations in his latest work, *Generations: Reclaiming Southern Lesbian/Gay History*.



A Filipino gay couple in the Provinces.

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Lecture titles

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- *Dating Rituals, Marriage Ceremonies and Coming Out Rites: 50 Ways to Have a Lover*
- *The Politics of Developed and Developing Countries in an Emerging Gay Movement: Should the Sun Never Set on the Rainbow Flag?*
- *Spirituality and (Homo)Sexuality: Sacred Spaces for Lesbians and Gay Men*

This female impersonator was photographed in Birmingham, Ala., in 1962. Such entertainers and "camp" are contributions by Southerners to gay culture.

Courtesy of Mimi Mushroom

For more information, please contact:

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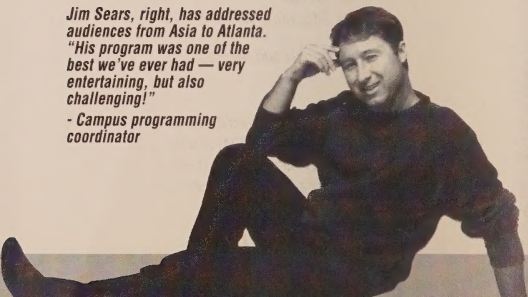
Jim has visited campuses across the country, including the University of Southern California, Bucknell, the University of South Dakota, Northwestern University, Auburn University, the University of Michigan and Stetson University.

He was a workshop facilitator for the 1995 AT&T National Diversity Conference and a plenary speaker for the Society for Scientific Study of Sex. He gave motivational speeches at Atlanta's Gay Pride Rally and at the first annual awards banquet of the South Carolina Gay and Lesbian Business Guild. Jim has also debated a representative from Focus on the Family in a national forum. In addition, he hosts informal dialogues between Christian conservatives and progressive liberals.

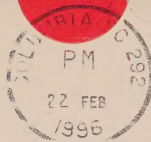
He is a tenured professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policies at the University of South Carolina, a teaching professor for the South Carolina Honors College, a 1995 Fulbright Research Scholar and a winner of the ACLU's Academic Freedom Award.

Jim Sears, right, has addressed audiences from Asia to Atlanta. "His program was one of the best we've ever had — very entertaining, but also challenging!"

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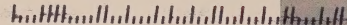
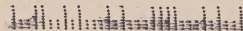
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*HOMO-
SEXUALITY*

AND
THE
CONSERVATIVE
CHRISTIAN



Homosexuality and the Conservative Christian

By The Rev. L. Robert Arthur

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Conservative Christian

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Introduction

There are several works available in the market today which deal with the subject of homosexuality and the Bible. However there are very few which approach the subject from a conservative theological view without beginning with a definite bias against homosexuality. Most of these available works are either anti-gay or decline to view the Scriptures as an authoritative book of doctrine. These latter writers prefer to view the Bible as a source from which to build doctrine.

I approach this work as someone who has extensive training from one of the most conservative Bible schools in America: Bob Jones University. It was there that I learned the conservative hermeneutical tenets, and a working use of Greek and Semitic languages. My perspective is conservative both in theology and in the use of hermeneutical principles.

The basic presuppositions of this work are as follows:

1. Plenary-verbal inspiration of Scriptures in their original languages, that is, the Hebrew and Aramaic Old Testament and the Greek New Testament were written by human agents in their own natural style and grammar, but the end results of their writing were the exact words which God intended to have recorded.
2. Authority and infallibility of Scripture. In other words, everything stated in the Bible (in the original language and context) are completely accurate and definitely true.
3. For any accurate understanding of a particular portion of Scripture, it must be read in its entire context.
4. The best commentary on Scripture, is the Scripture itself.
5. The language of the original Scriptures must be understood as it was used in the time it was written.
6. In order to understand why certain events and statements occurred, we must understand the cultural situation of the time of whose events and statements.
7. Before we can apply the teachings of the Bible to our present day situation, we must understand the meaning of those teachings in the day in which they were given.

I make no apology for my presuppositions as listed above. However, it is understood that there are many Christian men and women who do not share these same presuppositions. Although they may find this work interesting and useful in some contexts, they may also want to use some of the other available works with a theological assumption more closely approximating their own.

The Rev. L. Robert Arthur
Los Angeles, CA.
1982

Sodom and Gomorrah

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate developments of the English language is the use of the word sodomy to describe anal penetration and/or male homosexuality. The mere fact of this linguistic development several millennia after the events described in the Genesis account of the destruction of Sodom, has sealed in the minds of many English speaking people that Sodom was destroyed because of male homosexuality. Theologians have been guilty for centuries of playing upon this unfortunate misunderstanding to condemn those who found their sexual orientation to be homosexual.

Our narrative really begins back in Genesis 18 when, as recorded in verses 1 and 2, Jehovah and two others appeared to Abraham in Mamre. They had a two-fold message for Abraham. First they told him that he and his wife, Sarah, would parent a son, in spite of their old age. Secondly they told him in verses 20-21 that they were going to investigate the report of great wickedness in Sodom and Gomorrah. We see that Abraham understood this to mean that they were about to destroy these cities, for he pleaded intercession to spare them for the sake of any righteous people living there. In verses 23-33 we find that Abraham bargained with Jehovah, and won a promise that if as many as 10 righteous people could be found there, Sodom would be spared. (Of course we recognize Abraham's vested interest in Sodom, since his nephew Lot lived there.)

Now according to verse 22, Jehovah stayed to talk with Abraham, while the other men proceeded toward Sodom. The two who arrived in Sodom are variously described as angels (19:1) and men (19:5). In 18:2, Jehovah and the two angels are described as men. This is not really anything unusual in the Bible, since we frequently read of angels, and even Jehovah, taking human form to interact with human beings. (Cf. Genesis 3:8; Judges 13:15-16) So we read of these two angels in human form arriving in Sodom, and being offered hospitality by Lot (19:3).

At this point it is very important for us to understand the law of hospitality which has been prevalent throughout ancient history. A story which is strikingly similar to the account of the angels' visit to Sodom is told by Ovid in his *Metamorphosis* (8:625 ff) about visiting gods being hosted by a resident in a city which otherwise refused them hospitality, and being saved from the city's destruction.

We must remember that our modern motel business was not thriving in those days, and a traveler was dependent on the hospitality of those he met en route. Even in this same story we find Abraham's example of hospitality to these same angelic men in Mamre (Genesis 18:1-5).

We even read of God's command to deny access to Hebrew worship to the Ammonites and Moabites for ten generations, because of their lack of hospitality to the wandering Israelites (Deuteronomy 23:3-4).

This same law of hospitality is found in various examples throughout the Bible. Perhaps one of the greatest Old Testament examples is that of Rahab, who in Joshua 2, risked her life to protect her guests, the spies who were sent to peruse Jericho. Even as late as the New Testament, the disciples were told not to waste their time in any place which did not receive them and treat them with the laws of hospitality. In fact these cities are compared with Sodom in their sin of not providing hospitality (Luke 10:10-13).

Now with reference to our narrative in Genesis, we read that Lot offered these two visitors his hospitality. Along with that hospitality was implied security and protection. Therefore when the men of Sodom came knocking at Lot's door, seeking to do harm to these visitors, it was imperative for Lot to provide them with protection.

Much has been said about one Hebrew word found in this passage. This is the Hebrew word **yada'**. Its basic meaning as a verb is "to know." However, since Hebrew is a verbal language, they have a rich variety of verbs which English does not have. Whereas in English we have several shades of meaning for any one verb, Hebrew has different verbs to express those shades of meaning. For example, where we translate a verb meaning "to know," the Hebrew has a variety of verbs as follows:

bin: to consider

yada': to know thoroughly

nakar: to discern

sakal: to understand and act upon

shama': to hear with understanding

raah: to see with understanding

sakan: to become acquainted with

This verb **yada'** is sometimes used in the sexual sense. In other words, to thoroughly know a person, is to sexually know them as well. We read in Genesis 4:1, that "Adam **yada'** Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bore Cain," (KJV). It is therefore obvious that in Genesis 19:5, the men of Sodom wanted to sexually know the visitors (who were obviously unwilling), because the Hebrew word **yada'** is used in this verse. Furthermore, invoking the law of hospitality, Lot instead offered his two daughters to them who are described as never having **yada'** a man (19:8). When the same word is used twice in the same passage, we have no choice but to understand it in the same way. Since Lot was obviously offering his daughters for sexual use (**yada'**) or rape, then we must believe the intent of the men of Sodom was to sexually use (**yada'**) or rape the visitors. What greater violation of the law of hospitality can exist, than to rape your guests?

This was the so-called "straw that broke the camel's back," proving the already reported sinfulness of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the angelic messengers warned Lot to flee the coming destruction of the cities. Ten righteous people had not been found.

Now of course there are those who would lift the nineteenth chapter out of context and try to prove that God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah because of their rampant homosexuality. But we can see from the context

that well before their destruction, and this attempted rape, that God had pronounced their judgment to Abraham.

Following our presupposition number 4, we now turn to other Scriptures to find the commentary on the destruction of Sodom. Probably the clearest analogy in the New Testament is found in Luke 10:10-13, where the disciples are told that the judgment on those cities which do not show them hospitality will be more severe than that of Sodom and Gomorrah. But we also have comments in many other places in the Bible. Another good example is Ezekiel 16:48-50 where the sins leading to Sodom's destruction are listed as follows:

Pride
Plenty
Laziness
Uncaring for Poor and Needy
Haughty
Committed Abominations Before God

No where in this list do we find reference to homosexuality. But in comparing this list and the comment in Luke with the narrative in Genesis 18-19, we do see each of the above descriptions as a good commentary on the way of life there which was so displeasing to God.

There are those who try to see in the word "abomination" a reference to homosexual activity. However a brief word study will show us quite otherwise. This Hebrew word, *to'ebah* is found frequently in the Old Testament. If one were to read it in the context of every place it occurs, one would find it is always connected with or synonymous with idolatry. After all, the very first commandment is to have no other gods before Jehovah. Probably one of the clearest definitions of this word *to'ebah* is found in Deuteronomy 7:25-26 where we see that the abomination is the idol used in false worship. However, the word "abomination" does occasionally have a broader use: to indicate anything to do with false worship (Proverbs 21:27). Obviously, the people of Sodom were involved in false worship practices in order to degenerate to the level of sinfulness they exhibited at the time of the angelic visit.

Of all the places in the Bible that refer to the sins of Sodom, perhaps the one that is most misused is Jude 7, where we read that Sodom and Gomorrah suffered the vengeance of eternal fire because they were "going after strange flesh."

This is a good illustration of the violation of presupposition number 3. Although trite, the saying is true that states, "A text out of context is a pretext." As is true with statistics, so anything can be proven with Scripture taken out of context.

For a ridiculous example, let us put the following verses together:

Matthew 27:5: "[Judas] went and hanged himself."

John 13:15: "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done."

Admittedly, no one would be foolish enough to claim on this basis that we are all expected to hang ourselves. But is it not just as foolish to claim dogmatically on the basis of Jude 7 that since "going after strange flesh"

means homosexuality, that this is the reason for Sodom's destruction?

First of all, what is so strange in the flesh of another human being constructed sexually the same as one's self? But, more importantly, what is the meaning of the first part of verse 7: "***Even as*** Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them ***in like manner***?" Obviously the two phrases in italics are referring back to a previous verse. So let us look at verse 6. Here we read of angels who left their own habitation being punished. Then verse seven tells us that the people in Sodom and Gomorrah were acting ***in like manner*** to the angels when they were "going after strange flesh." If then, we can learn what the angels did that the people of Sodom and Gomorrah also did, we can understand the phrase "going after strange flesh," and why it may be so detested by God that both the angels and the humans should be so severely punished.

For our understanding of the sin of these angels, let us look back to Genesis 6. Here we read of a time when the "sons of God" cohabited with the "daughters of humans" resulting in a strange progeny called in the Hebrew ***nephilim***, a rare word indicating something weird or strange. Immediately after this event God sent the flood to destroy all humanity except Noah and his family.

Now of course, the question is who were the "sons of God" and why was it so wrong for them to cohabit with the "daughters of humans"? For an understanding of the phrase, "sons of God," we need to look at Job 1:6. Here we see that Satan was before God as one of the "sons of God." Now we know that Satan is a fallen angel, so we would understand the "sons of God" to be other angels. We again get this same understanding from Job 38:7. If we therefore conclude that the Hebrew phrase "sons of God" refers to angels, we see that what happened in Genesis 6 is a cohabitation between angelic "flesh" and human "flesh." This event was the "last straw" before the flood, and according to Jude 6, before the punishment of the angels involved.

Jude 7 then tells us that the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah were ***in like manner***. Remembering that the two visitors to Lot were angels, we see humans committing the same sin of attempting cohabitation with angels, or "going after strange flesh," resulting in the same consequences as Genesis 6: destruction. Again, we are not reading of homosexuality, but of the mixing of two distinct orders of creation.

We read of a situation occurring in Judges 19 that some have compared to Genesis 19, the story of Sodom. Here, however, are several differences. First of all, the male house guest was a man, not an angel. Secondly, the people of the town of Gibeah accepted the woman in place of the Levite man, and raped her until she died. Again, we are not reading of homosexuality in this passage, but of rape. The men wanted to rape the Levite, but were satisfied by raping his concubine. Again, the city of Gibeah was destroyed (Judges 20:38-44), but not for homosexuality, but for rape (heterosexual at that) and violation of the law of hospitality.

There is one other passage we should consider in this chapter: Genesis 34. Here we read of the rape of Jacob's daughter Dinah by Shechem the Hivite. As a result of this heterosexual rape, Shechem's home town was

destroyed. Yet in spite of this destruction, we hear no one condemning heterosexuality on the basis of this passage, but rather a condemnation of rape. So also is the case with Sodom. If we consider one of the many sins of Sodom for which they were destroyed, an attempted rape of men (who were really angels), then the condemnation should fall squarely on rape, not homosexuality.

Chapter Two

Levitical Law

There are two verses in Leviticus which we often hear quoted in polemics against gay and lesbian Christians: "Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind, it is abomination." 18:22 KJV. "If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their death shall be upon them," 20:13 KJV.

In both verses we read the word "abomination" in connection with the proscribed activity. Now in the last chapter we indicated that abomination is integrally related to idolatry. In what way then, is this activity connected with idolatry? Again the context can help us.

In both chapters we find this activity in a list of proscribed activities, but all in some way related to the worship of Molech (18:21; 20:2). We must remember that the Levitical law was given to the people of Israel as they were traveling through hostile territory where the inhabitants were all idolators. The major god of these desert peoples was Molech, a fire god.

The major thrust of God's instructions to Israel is summed up well in Leviticus 18:3: "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan, to which I bring you, shall ye not do; neither shall ye walk in their ordinances," KJV.

God intended the chosen race to be a "peculiar people," untainted by the practices of the surrounding nations. Anything which could possibly identify the people of Israel with the surrounding people and their practices was to be scrupulously avoided. For this reason we read of several peculiar prohibitions in Leviticus. All of these practices were part of the heathen worship of Molech:

- Bestiality (18:23)
- Child Sacrifice (20:2)
- Idolatry (19:4)
- Beard Trimming (19:27)
- Tattooing (19:28)
- Wizardry (20:6)
- Menstrual Intercourse (20:18)

Any violation of these proscriptions would tend to identify the Israelites with the worshippers of Molech and make them appear to be idolators (committing abomination). So God made these part of the legal code of Israel.

In addition, the Hebrew theology of women was based on their understanding of the creation of men and women. Since the Hebrews believed that men were created in the image of God, the earthly likenesses of God must be treated with the same awe and respect as one would treat God. However, since they believed women were created in the image of men, they were one more step removed from God, and not deserving of the same respect. As a result the place of women was under men, and com-

pletely dominated and used by men for their own purposes. Women were used sexually at the whim of their husbands, and not free to determine their own destiny. If a man were to treat another man in the same manner as he was free to treat women, that would be degrading the "image of God" to a mere human possession, as women were. This would be a direct affront to God and God's image, the man. So to "lie with a man as with a woman" was a blasphemous action degrading God to a mere possession. (Of course Paul attempted to correct the Hebrew theology of women, viz. Galatians 3:28.)

We know that the purpose of the law was two-fold: to keep the Israelites pure and undefiled among the heathen nations; and to teach them the impossibility of being perfect and the need for a perfect sacrifice to atone for imperfection. When Christ, that perfect sacrifice came, the law had completed its purpose and its usefulness was cancelled.

The early church struggled with the problems of legalism: how much of the law need Christians live up to? Paul addressed the question quite forcefully in his epistle to the Galatians. Since the perfect sacrifice has freed us from the condemnation of the law, we are no longer under the law's demands (3:23-25). We who are of the faith are not to associate any longer with the teachings of the law (4:30-31). In fact, if we attempt to live up to the law, we as much as call Christ foolish in that he died for nothing (2:21).

It is certainly very dangerous to start trying to pick a few laws that are still binding, and agree that all others are nullified. There are very few Christians today who would impose on us the laws forbidding certain foods, trimming beards, or even having intercourse with one's wife during menstruation. Yet somehow, one particular law is selected to bind lesbian and gay Christians. Is this really consistent hermeneutics? Christ gave us two laws to live by: Matthew 22:37-40.

Love God.

Love your neighbors as yourself.

If we live up to these laws of Christ, we are to separate ourselves from all other laws and those who would impose them on us (Galatians 4:30-31; 3:23-25).

Qedeshim

One of the errors of the translators of the KJV has been corrected by later translators in many of our more modern versions. However, much damage has been done by those who use only the KJV by applying certain passages of the old Testament to gays and lesbians.

The Hebrew word **gadesh** (plural: **gedeshim**) was translated in the KJV as sodomite(s). This is a very unfortunate translation, especially since it is a noun form of the root verb which means "to be holy." A better translation of the word would be priest. But since the normal Hebrew word for priest is **gadosh**, a distinction needs to be made between **gadesh** and **gadosh**. The distinction in the Hebrew mind was that a **gadosh** served Jehovah God, and a **gadesh** served some pagan deity.

By looking closely at the six passages of the Old Testament where **gadesh** is found (Deuteronomy 23:17; I Kings 14:24; I Kings 15:12; I Kings 22:46; II Kings 23:7; Job 36:14), we soon see that in each case these **gedeshim** were priests who served in fertility cults. They in essence were assigned to the temples of the various fertility deities to receive the sexual sacrifice of their worshippers. Thus some of our more modern translators have used the more appropriate term "cult prostitute."

Naturally, Jehovah would prohibit the men and women of Israel from serving in these capacities (Deuteronomy 23:17), and ordered them eliminated from the land. However, this certainly has little or no relevance to a homosexual person, especially a gay or lesbian Christian.

As we move into New Testament times, we still encounter fertility cults such as Diana (Artemis) of Ephesus (Acts 19). Many of Paul's converts had been involved in the worship of these false gods, and he writes to the Corinthians to specifically tell them to forsake the practices they had acquired in that worship. Even though Christian liberty allows a great deal of freedom, it still does not allow us to serve as facilitators of the worship of these false gods. In chapter 6 of I Corinthians, he gives a list of descriptions that would apply to the **gedeshim** of Corinth, as well as to many of the worshippers of these false gods.

One of those terms he uses is the Greek word **arsenokoites**. This term has caused problems for translators for centuries. Paul seems to have been the first person to use this term in writing. John Boswell, in his book **Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality**, does a good word study on this subject. But the conclusion he reaches is that the **arsenokoites** is a male prostitute who took the active role in sexual encounters. Obviously this Greek word could easily have been Paul's equivalent for the Hebrew **gadesh**.

Many translators over the years have tried to make **arsenokoites** equivalent to **arrenokoites**, which generally refers to homosexual men, and so most English translations use some form of homosexual activity

to translate *arsenokoites*. This does seem strange however, when one of the sources quoted in Greek lexicons for determining the meaning of this word is a passage in Jejuner of the sixth century. The context there is "men are even playing the part of an *arsenokoites* with their own wives,"—hardly a homosexual reference.

Understanding *arsenokoites* to be equivalent to *gadesh*, we find much more meaning in Paul's letters to Corinth (I Corinthians 6:9) and Timothy (I Timothy 1:10). (Timothy was the bishop of Ephesus.) Those who facilitate the worship of false gods are not fit for the kingdom of God.

Paul and Homosexuality

We have already looked at one of the words Paul used which has been mistranslated: *arsenokoïtes*. A brief comment would be in order as to a second such word: *malakoi*. This Greek adjective is also found in the list of types of characteristics which render one unfit for the kingdom of God in I Corinthians 6:9.

Although *malakoi* is translated "effeminate" or "catamite" by many English versions, this Greek adjective is found frequently in Greek literature, and rarely connotes any sexual meaning. In fact, it is properly translated the other three times it occurs in the New Testament: twice in Matthew 11:8, and once in Luke 7:25. It basically means "soft." But when applied to people it usually means "gutless." Someone who will not stand up for what is right is certainly not fit for the kingdom of God. Viz. Luke 7:62. This understanding of *malakoi* certainly fits in much better with Pauline theology than any homosexual meaning. Paul was continually urging his converts to stand for the truth no matter what the cost. (Philippians 1:19-30).

Perhaps the most often quoted Pauline passage on this subject is Romans 1:26-27. However, a quick glance at the first phrase of verse 26 ("For this cause") tells us immediately that any reference to these two verses is inadequate without looking at its entire context: the whole first chapter.

What is the point of the first chapter? Paul is warning that many people become guilty of worshipping the creature more than the Creator (verse 25). Anything which is loved more than God becomes an idol; and the love for that idol is an unnatural love called lust. Lust brings its own natural results, and God turns the idolators over to their own lusts and their natural consequences.

There are three examples of lust given in Romans 1. First there is a lust for the idol of wisdom. The natural result of that lust is foolishness (verse 22). Secondly, some women allow sex to become their god. When God turns them over to their lust (vile affections), the natural result is the perverting of their natural love for sex into something unnatural (verse 26). Paul does not specify what that unnatural sexual conduct is. For different people it could be different things. But whatever it is, it is something not natural for those persons because sex is their god.

Thirdly, Paul says that some men allow sex to become their god. Again the same thing happens. They will abandon what is natural for them and turn to unnatural sexual activities to satisfy their lust for their god, sex (verse 27).

Especially for Christian lesbians and gays, this passage should not apply. For to a Christian, God is first in our lives, and all other desires fall into second place. Therefore sex is not a god, and we do not fall under the condemnation described in Romans 1.

However, in this verse Paul describes men as naturally preferring women. For men whose natural preference is women, the result of making sex a god could very well be the turning from women to lusting after other men. Note the word "lust"—not love. It is interesting also to note that these men must *katergazomai* the act of sex with other men. The Greek word *ergazomai* alone means to work or accomplish. But when the preposition *kat* is put with it, the extreme energy required to accomplish that deed is referred to. This would indicate a violation of the natural tendencies of that man who has sex with another man. Could the act of rape be indicated by selecting this particular verb? At any rate, for a gay man, whose natural preference is for other men, it would certainly not require *katergazomai* to accomplish a sexual act with another man.

But of course there are those who would say that anything unnatural is out of God's will for us, and so since Paul labels opposite sex preference as natural, those who would prefer the same sex are not in God's will, and cannot receive God's blessings. This is certainly an unfortunate understanding of Paul's use of the term "natural."

From this same understanding of Paul's use of the term "natural," there are many churches who would condemn a man whose hair is too long, based on I Corinthians 11:14. However, why is it then that God gives exceptional blessings to men who take the Nazirite vow which includes the promise of never cutting their hair? Perhaps the most famous of those who were so blessed by God for not cutting his hair was Samson. When his vow was violated by the cutting of his hair, he lost that special blessing of strength God had given him (Judges 13-16).

This then cannot be the meaning Paul attaches to the word "natural." What then does he mean when he uses the word? What do we mean when we use the word? Simply put, the word "natural" means that which is customarily observed. (Cp. Romans 11:24) Certainly in Paul's day as well as our own the commonly observed preference of people is for the opposite sex. But that does not mean that the 14% of people who prefer the same sex are any less blessed of God.

One other interesting note is found in the greetings Paul sends at the end of the book of Romans. If Paul were so hostile to homosexual men and women, why would he send greetings to one who was notoriously gay? Yet we find in Romans 16:11 greetings to the household of Narcissus, who was Nero's famous lover at the time. In fact, many early church historians like Dionysius claim that Narcissus was the one who successfully interceded with Nero for Paul, and got him acquitted after his first arrest.

It is rather difficult to picture Paul as being the anti-gay and lesbian person that many people claim he was. And as we have seen, there is nothing in his writings that would indicate to the contrary.

Christ and Homosexuality

If Christ is the center of Christianity, then of course anything He said on the subject would be definitive. However, search as we may, we can find not one word on the subject from His lips anywhere in the Gospels.

There are some who look at His statements in Matthew 19 as pertaining to the subject. When the Pharisees asked Him for His teaching about divorce, He made the comment that from the beginning God did not intend for divorce. It is from this passage that the familiar statements in our popular wedding ceremonies are taken: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. Wherefore, they are no more two, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no one put asunder."

What some call the argument from natural order of creation goes like this. Since God intended from the beginning that a woman should be with a man, homosexuality is not in God's plan for humanity. After all, "God did not create Adam and Steve, but Adam and Eve." Therefore, one can only be truly in God's will if married heterosexually.

Of course, we immediately wonder how Christ could be in God's will, then, if He was not married. And we wonder why Paul would be so bold as to recommend the single state over God's will of marriage (I Corinthians 7:7-9).

But we are not the only ones with such a question. We find in this same chapter (Matthew 19:10) that the disciples said then that they could not understand why anyone would want to get married. So Jesus replied with a rather unusual statement in verses 11-12. This plan for marriage with no divorce is not meant for everyone, but just for those to whom it applies: those who do get married.

He then gives a curious statement as to who some of those are for whom it is not intended: eunuchs who were born eunuchs, eunuchs who were made that way in life, and those who chose to be eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Who then are these eunuchs?

Most people think of eunuchs as only castrated males. However, neither the Greek of the New Testament nor the Hebrew of the Old Testament would support this idea. The Greek word used in Matthew 19 is *eunouchos*, which is a masculine noun referring to men who are in the state of *eunouchia*, a noun which means the state of being unmarried. That one need not be castrated to be a *eunouchos* is denoted by the use of that word in the Wisdom of Solomon 3:14, where it talks of eunuchs masterbating. In the Old Testament we read of a man who was married, yet called a eunuch. Potiphar was described in Genesis 39 as a *saris* (Hebrew word translated elsewhere as eunuch). Here the word chamberlain is used to translate *saris*, because he was married (but without children). Apparently he was impotent, and it was for this reason that his wife tried to seduce Joseph.

In ancient cultures, the greatest curse upon a family was to be without heirs. Anyone not producing an heir was called a *saris* (eunuch). The feminine equivalent of the male *saris* is *sarisa*'. Although the only eunuchs referred to in the Old Testament were male, there were most certainly female eunuchs because the feminine form of the word is found in the Talmud.

So now if we properly understand Christ to be talking in Matthew 19 of people who are either incapable of having children, or for some reason do not have children, either due to circumstances of life or for religious choice, then no eunuch is under this teaching of marriage. No matter what philosophical or psychological explanations are used, it is obvious that most gay men and women do not have children,* and are therefore not included in the specialized instructions given to married people in Matthew 19.

There is also an interesting passage in Isaiah 56:3-5. Here we are told that eunuchs (both male and female) who hold fast to God's covenant will receive an inheritance in heaven better than the inheritance of those who are called the sons and daughters of God. This is certainly similar to Christ's teaching in His Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:10). How often have modern day eunuchs (gay men and lesbians) who hold fast to the new covenant as Christians faced persecution from other children of God? If we stand firm on that covenant, we will certainly inherit the kingdom of heaven with a better reward than the other sons and daughters of God.

*In fact, Christ states that grounds for divorce is fornication, which in Greek indicates any use or abuse of one's sexual partner to satisfy one person's needs without care for the other. Most lesbians and gay men who find themselves in heterosexual marriages are usually in just such an abusive situation, and they therefore have Biblical grounds for divorce.



The Rev. L. Robert Arthur holds a Master of Arts degree in Bible from Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina, and has done further graduate work in Greek, Hebrew, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Aramaic. He served as Assistant Dean of Men at Bob Jones for a number of years. Rev. Arthur was a Baptist pastor before serving in Omaha, Nebraska, his first pastorate in the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches. A former police officer, he was Director of Institutional Ministry for the Fellowship from 1976 to 1981, and since then has served as Southwest District Coordinator. He is a member of the faculty of Samaritan Theological Institute.

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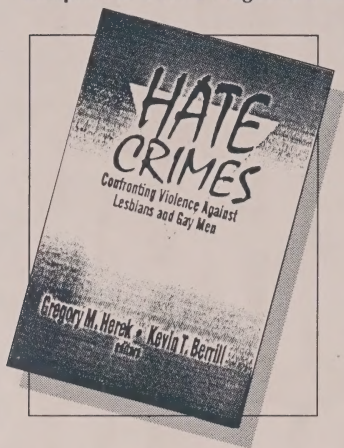
Confronting Violence Against
Lesbians and Gay Men

2nd Printing!

edited by **GREGORY M. HEREK**, University of California, Davis
& **KEVIN T. BERRILL**, Director, Campus and Anti-Violence Projects,
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

Foreword by the Honorable John Conyers, Jr.

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*book takes a broad and deep look at this much overlooked problem and points the way for future study and action. I recommend **Hate Crimes** to anyone who cares about this alarming injustice."*

—Urvashi Vaid,

Former Executive Director,
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force

Beginning with an overview of antigay violence and victimization, the contributors consider such issues as, the social context of hate crimes, documenting victimization, the social psychology of bigotry and bashing, treatment and service interventions, violence against lesbian and gay male youths, conceptualizing antigay violence, and mental health consequences of antigay violence. Findings from empirical research and professional practice are juxtaposed with devastating first-person accounts by survivors of hate crimes. The editors conclude with implications for public policy.

ABRIDGED CONTENTS: I. An Overview of the Problem / II. The Context / III. Perpetrators / IV. Surviving and Responding / V. Implications for Policy

CONTRIBUTORS: K. T. Berrill, L. Dean, S. Wu, J. Martin, B. von Schulthess, G. M. Herek, H. J. Ehrlich, J. Harry, R. A. Berk, E. A. Boyd, K. Hamner, E. Weissman, M. Collins, L. Garnets, B. Levy, D. M. Wertheimer

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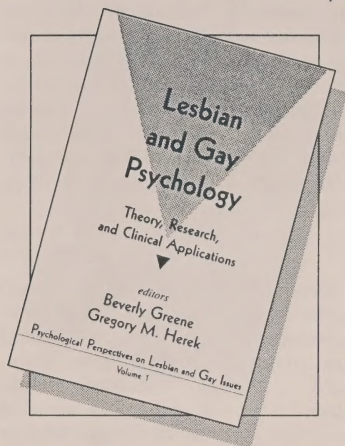
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edited by **BEVERLY GREENE**, *St. John's University, New York City*
& **GREGORY HEREK**, *University of California, Davis*

Foreword by **John C. Gonsiorek**



More than ever before, heated public policy debates over sexual orientation point to a critical need for a clearer understanding of lesbians and gay men. Empirically rich and intellectually rigorous, **Lesbian and Gay Psychology** presents innovative empirical studies that explore the children of lesbians, internalized homophobia, lesbian and gay development, and aspects of relationship quality of cohabitating couples. Theoretical analyses of physical appearance, issues of sexual pride and shame in lesbians, impact of the feminist political movement, and heterosexual attitudes are also provided. A chapter on boundary issues in a lesbian therapist/client relationship adds to the diversity of perspectives contained in this volume.

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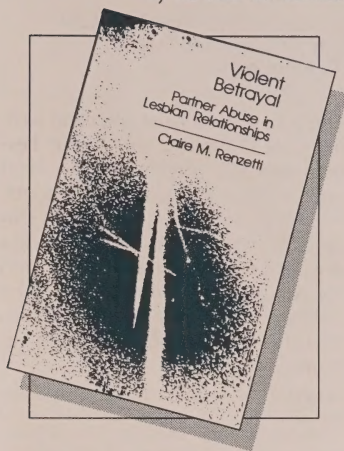
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"Violent Betrayal is an important contribution to domestic violence

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—Family Violence & Sexual Assault Bulletin

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Northern Illinois University

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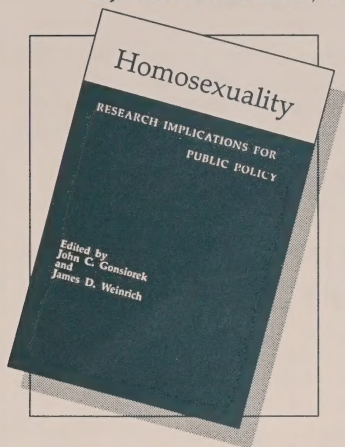
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edited by **JOHN C. GONSIOREK,**

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—American Psychological
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Division #44 Newsletter

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CONTRIBUTORS: J. C. Gonsiorek, J. D. Weinrich, J. A. W. Kirsch, R. C. Pillard, W. L. Williams, G. M. Herek, R. R. Rivera, C. Silverstein, G. C. Davison, D. C. Haldeman, J. R. Rudolph, L. A. Peplau, G. D. Green, F. W. Bozett, E. F. DeJowski, L. Dengelegi, S. Crystal, P. Beck, M. Shernoff

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Southern Baptists ease infighting, hit secular targets

By **Greg Garrison**
News staff writer

DALLAS — It used to be that Southern Baptists looked for the enemy and found it amongst themselves.

For more than a decade, from 1979 on into the early 1990s, it was a battle over control that preoccupied the nation's largest Protestant denomination at its annual meeting.

After last week's Southern Baptist Convention in Dallas, there's little doubt conservatives are in firm control of the denomination. Their agenda included targeting secular culture instead of moderate Southern Baptists, who for so long were accused of liberalizing the denomination's social policy and seminaries.

This time, the enemies were promotion of homosexuality as a socially acceptable lifestyle, the decline of traditional morals and the forces responsible for it. Southern Baptists found their personification of the enemy in Mickey Mouse.

"I met Mickey Mouse as a kid," Lisa Kinney of Largo, Fla., told fellow Southern Baptists. "I met Jesus Christ six years ago."

Boycotting Disney "will affirm to the world that we love Jesus more than we love our entertainment," she said.

The 12,000 delegates to the Dallas convention voted to boycott the Disney Co. for its "anti-Christian and anti-family" direction in its enter-

tainment and company policy in relation to homosexuality. With more than 15.6 million members, a million-plus in Alabama, the Southern Baptist Convention wants to exert its force in holding back what it sees as the tide of secularism washing over America by making a statement of conscience against Disney.

Will there be fewer church buses in Disney World parking lots this summer? Baptists are joining the Assemblies of God and the American Family Association, which previously voted for a Disney boycott, to try to make it so.

Moderate influences

While infighting no longer makes up the main business at the annual convention, there is still wariness of those who side with the moderates, even occasionally.

For instance, the Woman's Missionary Union, based in Birmingham, remains independent from the denomination, continuing its traditional work. The WMU's willingness to work with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, a group of moderates, and other denominations has left it open to suspicion.

That surfaced on Wednesday when a line from a WMU magazine, referring to people living in China for more than a million years, was pointed out as evidence of evolutionary ideology. The convention voted to

within motels, the store was joined by a supermarket, three convenience stores and a Laundromat. In a few years, the organization started buying land in Alabama.

Today, it owns three motels, four restaurants, a small slaughterhouse, three stores, a cattle feedlot, a hog farm, an airplane, 2,800 acres of land, several limousines and two garages.

The Holyland itself consists of a

tween self-reliance and accepting government medical care: "Otherwise, look at how much it would cost me," he says.

Edwards and his wife, Luvenia, live in a mobile home. Couples and singles live in tiny, individual rooms in one building; girls live in a dorm where they care for preschoolers and babies, taken from their mothers soon after birth.



Alexander Pickett laces his new shoes in a Holyland dorm that keeps them separated from their parents.

HOW THEY VOTED

Congressional Quarterly

The Senate's 73-25 vote against the proposal left intact a package that

Baptists

From Page 11A

advise Southern Baptist-related entities to avoid promoting evolution.

The denomination, which started in 1845 after a dispute with northern Baptists over whether slaveowners could be missionaries, has repudiated its racist stands of the past. Two years ago, Southern Baptists issued an apology for slavery, segregation and racism.

Southern Baptist Convention President Tom Elliff announced last week that the denomination raised \$724,000 for an arson-relief fund, most of which was distributed to 98 black congregations in 17 states that had lost church buildings to arson. Elliff said the denomination would transfer thousands of dollars remaining in the fund to the six Southern Baptist seminaries for scholarships for black pastors.

Inclusiveness

"I think Southern Baptists are headed in the direction of ensuring that the table is prepared for all of us," said the Rev. Maxie Miller Jr., a Birmingham native who was pastor of Friendship Baptist Church from 1993-96 and was an associate pastor from 1990-92 at Sixth Avenue Baptist Church. He recently became pastor of Mt. Olive Baptist Church in Plant City, Fla., which is affiliated both with the predominantly white Southern Baptist Convention and the predominantly black National Baptist Convention USA.

The downsizing this year of the Southern Baptist Convention from 19 agencies to 12, including the new North American Mission Board and the International Mission Board, concerned some black Southern Baptists. The Rev. E.W. McCall, outgoing president of the African American Fellowship, said there was a wide-

spread perception blacks weren't consulted on the reorganization. But on checking, McCall said he found that black Southern Baptists did have input in the process.

"I've seen great change," said McCall, a Southern Baptist more than 27 years. "I've seen better efforts in many areas."

A report presented by the African American Fellowship showed that David Corneliuss of the International Mission Board, Herbert Brisbane and Robert Wilson of the North American Mission Board and Elgia Wells of the Sunday School Board will maintain their positions as directors related to missions, evangelism and black church relations and development.

More than 100 employees of Southern Baptist agencies and state conventions announced last week they had formed the Black Southern Baptist Denominational Servants Network, which will encourage veteran workers to mentor new black employees and help them learn the Southern Baptist programs.

The African American Fellowship began about five years ago. The start of the denominational workers group shows the growing participation of blacks in the Southern Baptist Convention, said Tom Kelly, director of black church extension for the California Southern Baptist Convention. "The African American Fellowship is pastor-driven," Kelly said. "This group is denominational servant-driven. What we do will undergird the fellowship."

Miller said he still had some concerns about racial inclusiveness in Southern Baptist Sunday School Board literature and other issues, but he embraced the new, streamlined mission structure of the denomination.

"I think it's fantastic," he said. "I

think it will be more helpful to urban churches. My concern is ministry and not just black ministry. I'm concerned about ministry worldwide."

Attendance drop

One side effect from the end of open feuding between conservatives and moderates at the annual meeting of Southern Baptists has been a decline in attendance. The last Southern Baptist Convention held in Dallas, in 1985, drew a record 45,000 messengers from churches across the country. By comparison, 12,000 looked paltry.

But Samford University Beeson Divinity School Dean Timothy George pointed out that before the theological struggle, the annual meetings never drew large crowds.

"Before 1979, 12,000 would have been a large convention," he said. "It looks like we're back to normal."

Elliff said he wasn't concerned because most Southern Baptists show their support by financial contributions to mission work, not by attending the national convention.

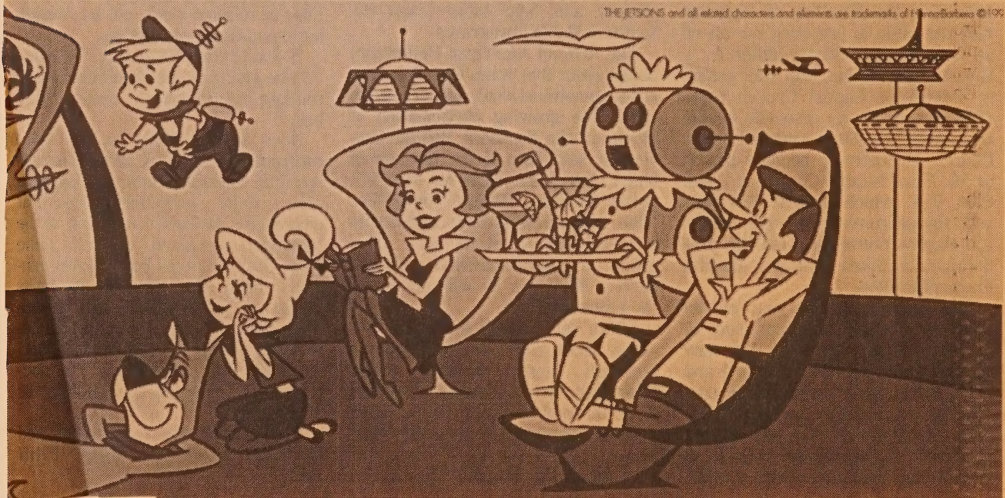
"I don't think it's apathy," he said. "We're giving in record numbers and sending missionaries in record numbers."

Once again willing to risk open confrontation for what they believe is spiritual integrity, Southern Baptists plan a major evangelism outreach at next year's national convention in the Mormon stronghold of Salt Lake City, Utah. Baptists hope to win converts from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which they believe is a false religion because it believes in the Book of Mormon and other scriptures and doctrines not accepted by Catholics or Protestants.

"They know where we stand, and we know where they stand," Elliff said.



**AN COOL OFF NOW THE WAY PEOPLE
COOLED OFF IN THE PAST.**



THE TRUTH ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY

What is the "Gay Lifestyle"? There is no such thing. Homosexual men and women are as diverse as heterosexual men and women are. For example, the editor of American Spectator, which seems to be Rush Limbaugh's favorite conservative magazine, is gay. So is the editor of the more liberal New Republic magazine. Contrary to the efforts of some to stereotype homosexuals, many homosexuals have never set foot in a so-called "gay bar," and most are virtually indistinguishable from heterosexuals. Homosexuals come in every size and shape - from Mr. Universe Bob Jackson-Paris to swimmer Greg Louganis to ballet star Rudolph Nureyev. Most gay men are not effeminate: some have even played pro football and other sports. Some love football, and some love the arts - just like heterosexuals. There is no single "gay lifestyle." If you don't believe me, see the list of well-known homosexuals listed later on these pages and see if they are all alike.

In early 1992 it was published that Simon LeVay, a biologist at San Diego's Salk Institute for Biological Studies, discovered a difference in a tiny part of the brains of homosexual and heterosexual male cadavers. In a study of 41 brains taken from people who died before age 60, it was found that a node in the hypothalamus was one-fourth to one-half smaller in homosexual men than in heterosexual men. This area is known to be smaller in a heterosexual woman than in heterosexual men, and it is an area known to be involved in regulating sexual behavior. (U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 9, 1991, page 58) What does all this mean? It's pretty obvious that homosexuals are born that way and their sexuality is beyond their control. A homosexual man can no more "change" into a heterosexual man, no matter how he may try or want to, than a heterosexual man can "switch" to homosexuality. Homosexuality is not a choice. Why on earth would anyone choose to be ostracized by society, and risk loss of friends, family, employment and maybe even a place to live??? Many homosexuals, like Mel White (author of Stranger at the Gate: To Be Gay and Christian in America), have struggled for years trying to "un-do" their homosexuality...but it doesn't work. Some manage to "pretend" to be heterosexual for a while, but there is not a single proven case of a homosexual being able to be "counseled out of" his or her homosexual inclination.

In 1993 more studies showing a link between genetic factors and homosexuality were widely reported in the press (Know About Gays and Lesbians by Margaret Hyde and Elizabeth Forsyth, M.D., page 48). This research may be leading to a biological "cure" to homosexuality...and this concerns some homosexuals. As for myself, a homosexual man, I say "hoorah!" If scientists develop a way to become heterosexual I'll be first in line to be changed, so long as it can be done safely. I don't "hate" my homosexuality, but naturally I and many homosexuals would love the opportunity to fall in love with someone of the opposite sex, have children, and live a quiet life unmarred by the hatred of small-minded people telling me that I'm going to hell. That kind of simple, peaceful life is not possible for me now unless I lie and live a life of deception. I have too much dignity and respect for others to live a lie like that. Who wants to live a life of being ostracized by society because of something you have no control over?

MYTHS ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY

In July 1994 it was reported that the current issue of the medical journal Pediatrics presented a study done in Colorado which said that 99.3% of all child molestations in Colorado were perpetrated by heterosexual men. Only .7% (less than 1 percent!!) were committed by what they called "possible" homosexuals. In other words, probably even less than .7% of all child molesters are homosexual. If you're thinking, "That's not what I've always heard!" you'd be right. All homosexuals are not angels and all homosexuals are not incapable of crimes, but the stereotypes are simply wrong. So much for the myth of gay men running around molesting boys: it just ain't so. I am a homosexual man, and I would no more consider committing such an atrocity than I would consider cutting off my own head. Homosexuals are no more immoral than the public at large. Anyone who tries to tell you otherwise is either lying or has no idea what he's talking about...and has surely never known a homosexual.

A recent survey of homosexual youth said that half of all homosexual teenagers were rejected by their families when they went to them to talk about the homosexual feelings inside them...something over which they have no control. What kind of "family values" is that?? Throwing your children out when they come to you for help or understanding??! Parents should understand this: If your child has to hide his homosexuality from you because of your close-mindedness, he will surely hide everything else in his life from you. What choice does he have? You will have rejected him for something he has no control over.

WHAT ABOUT SODOMY? ISN'T IT CONDEMNED BY THE BIBLE?

Sodomy is not the same as homosexuality. Heterosexuals practice sodomy as much as homosexuals. Sodomy means oral sex. Christianity has not always condemned homosexuality and Jesus never uttered one word about the subject. Read John Boswell's book Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality for further information. Before St. Thomas Aquinas, homosexuality was accepted. There were even 6 known homosexual or bisexual Popes! Today, finally, many churches have studied the Bible and come to the educated realization that it does not condemn homosexuality. Really all you have to do is look at the animals around us: homosexuality is found in all of the animals with higher intelligence. Was it a choice for them? Does the Bible condemn animals who practice homosexuality?

WHAT ABOUT THE "GAY AGENDA" I'VE HEARD ABOUT?

The "Gay Agenda" simply doesn't exist. Homosexuals are too diverse to agree on a single agenda! All homosexuals want is to have equal rights...that is, to be able to live and work like free Americans. Homosexuals want no special rights. People who tell you otherwise are either ignorant or are only responding to the lunatic fringe of homosexuals. 99% of all homosexuals are just like you, and you probably can't tell they're homosexual. Unfortunately there is a lunatic fringe amongst homosexuals, just as there is amongst heterosexuals, but they are a tiny, tiny minority. Homosexuals who are working for "equal rights" want only that: equal rights.

If you've never heard this before, it's probably because you never talked with a homosexual before...at least not an "open" homosexual. And why are so many homosexuals "closeted"? Most homosexuals are scared to admit their sexuality publicly, because we have been made to be scared by the reactions of people. We've all been there when people made fun of homosexuals. How often have you

heard jokes made about gays? Well, who wants to be the brunt of constant jokes? Who wants to risk losing friends? Who wants to risk losing their job? Who wants to risk losing contact with parents? There are many cases every week of homosexuals being beaten and killed for doing nothing except being homosexual. You'd be scared to "come out," too, if you were born homosexual.

Most homosexuals would love to be thought of as normal by society, naturally, so they can live normally, without threat of being killed, beaten or ostracized. But there is no "agenda" to cram that down anyone's throat. It would be nice if people would simply live by the Golden Rule; that's all homosexuals want.

That's the truth about homosexuality. If you would like to learn more, please try reading some of these excellent books:

Mel White's Stranger at the Gate: To Be Gay and Christian in America
Robb Forman Dew's The Family Heart
Betty Fairchild's Now That You Know
Bob and Rod Jackson-Paris' Straight from the Heart

Does the current wave of hatred and attacks aimed at homosexuals concern you? If you don't think so, consider these words by the Reverend Martin Niemöller:

"In Germany they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up."

God will surely bless those who open their hearts to those who are unfairly attacked and condemned. God bless you if you are such a person.

More information on homosexuality that you may find interesting follows...

WHAT ABOUT GAYS IN THE MILITARY?

Barry Goldwater, America's father of conservatism, had this to say about the gays in the military issue: "I don't care if a soldier is gay or straight. I just want him to be able to shoot straight!"

In 1992 polls showed that most Americans believed that homosexuals should be allowed in the military. (New York Times, Sept. 1, 1991)

A study done for the Pentagon in the 1980's found that homosexuals were no more of a security risk than soldiers who were not gay. (New York Times, June 20, 1992)

Eminent American scientist Dr. Evelyn Hooker said, "Are homosexuals social outcasts? My God. Christopher Isherwood, Howard Brown, Merle Miller, Sidney Abbott, John Maynard Keynes. Are these people social outcasts?...Some of the most moral men I know are homosexuals."

Of the 16 countries which are members of NATO, all but Great Britain and the U.S. had lifted their bans on homosexuals in the military by the end of 1992. (Know About Gays and Lesbians, by Margaret Hyde and Elizabeth Forsyth, M.D., Millbrook Press, 1994, page 57.) Canada lifted its ban on gays in the military in 1992. (Is it a Choice? by Eric Marcus, p. 112)

Traditional Indian Buddhist teachings hold that homosexuality is basically genetic in origin, with the same moral significance as heterosexuality. (Know About Gays and Lesbians by Hyde & Forsyth, page 55.)

No less than 6 Catholic Popes have been gay or bisexual: John XII, Benedict IX, Paul II, Sixtus IV, Leo X, and Julius III. Those are only the ones we know about. (Gay Book of Lists by Leigh Rutledge, pp. 166-7)

Illinois decriminalized homosexual acts in 1961.

Wisconsin passed a statewide Gay Rights bill in 1981.

Some U.S. cities that have some form of gay rights protection: Austin TX, Ann Arbor MI, Atlanta GA, Boston MA, Buffalo NY, Chapel Hill NC, Columbus OH, Detroit MI, Harrisburg PA, Hartford CT, Honolulu HA, Los Angeles CA, Madison WI, Minneapolis MN, New York NY, Oakland CA, Philadelphia PA, Portland OR, Rochester NY, Sacramento CA, San Francisco CA, Seattle WA, Tuscon AZ, Washington DC.

Some famous people who supported equal rights for homosexuals before 1930:

Albert Einstein	Herman Hesse
Sigmund Freud	Havelock Ellis
Martin Buber	Rainer Maria Rilke
Leo Tolstoy	Thomas Mann
H.G. Wells	Sir Richard Burton
Emile Zola	

Some modern celebrities who support equal rights for homosexuals:

Henry Fonda	Ethel Merman	Richard Pryor
Robert Blake	Carol Burnett	Coretta Scott King
Paul Newman	Hugh Hefner	Mike Farrell
Lauren Bacall	Burt Reynolds	Marilyn Monroe
Dennis Weaver	Lily Tomlin	Neil Simon
Maureen Reagan	Barry Goldwater	Martha Raye

Countries with laws that provide equal rights for homosexuals:

Norway
Sweden

France
New Zealand

Denmark

Countries which have routinely tortured, imprisoned or executed homosexuals:

Iran

Cuba

The former U.S.S.R.

Romania before the overthrow of communism

Chile under the Pinochet regime

Where would you rather live?

Norway or Fidel Castro's Cuba?

Increasingly, major corporations such as AT&T, IBM, Disney, and Citicorp are making an effort to welcome gay and lesbian employees. Xerox and Levi Strauss, for example, have policies prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Some companies, including Lotus Development Corp., have extended the same benefits to the spouses of gay and lesbian employees that are offered to heterosexual spouses. (Is it a Choice? by Eric Marcus, p. 101)

In December 1991 the Archives of General Psychiatry published the results of a study by Michael Bailey of Northwestern University and Richard Pillard of Boston University School of Medicine on twins and homosexuality. They found that identical twins were most likely to both be gay. Of the identical twins in the study, 52% of the gay men had twin brothers who were also gay. Of the fraternal twins, the percentage was 22%. Only 11% of the unrelated brothers—those who were adopted children—were both gay. One of the researchers said that this adds to the evidence that sexual orientation does not result from a moral defect. (Science News, Jan. 4, 1992, Vol. 141, page 6.)

During the Middle Ages it was common knowledge that homosexuality was widespread, even in monasteries and convents. According to some writers, the attitude toward homosexuals was rather lenient in the early Middle Ages, until about the 12th century. But from then on, until the 19th century, the practice continued to be condemned as a sin and crime against nature in Europe and the Americas. (About Time: Exploring the Gay Past, by Martin Duberman, Penguin, 1991, page 377.)

Many people are shocked to learn that gay youths have an attempted suicide rate between 2 and 3 1/2 times greater than other youths. The Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Youth Suicide, which appeared in Jan. 1989, explains that the homosexual risk factor stems from the effects of hostility against gays, not from homosexuality itself. (Know About Gays and Lesbians, p. 19.)

In late 1992, an organization of gay alumni of West Point was formed. (New York Times, December 1, 1992)

After Colorado voters passed an anti-gay measure which stripped away legal protection for gays, at least 23 hate crimes were reported...almost immediately after the election, along with a general increase in gay bashing. (Newsweek, November 23, 1992, page 26)

Studies indicate that there are many so-called "sissy boys" who grow up to be heterosexual, and many masculine boys and men who are homosexual. (Being Homosexual: Gay Men and Their Development, Richard A. Isay, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989, pages 32-43.)

Homosexuals began to get a feel for the fact that there were a LOT of homosexuals in any given populace during World War II. Soldiers from big cities and rural areas across America came together during the war, and gay and lesbian women began to notice how many fellow gays and lesbians there were in the armed services. At this point, they were tipped off to the fact that they were not alone...that there are gays & lesbians everywhere, so they began to organize for the first time after the war. (Before Stonewall, video)

The province of Quebec, Canada, made it legal for homosexuals to marry with equal legal status to heterosexual couples in 1982. There has been no moral "demise"!

The United Church of Christ was the first major Christian denomination to ordain a homosexual minister - back in 1972. The Episcopalian church was first to ordain a lesbian woman priest - in 1977. The first openly homosexual rabbi was Allen Bennett, who became a rabbi in 1974. Since the '70's, many churches have opened their arms to homosexuals.

Some homosexual winners of Nobel Prizes for Literature:

Selma Lagerlof (of Sweden)
Jacinto Benavente (of Spain)
Patrick White (of Australia)
George Bernard Shaw
Thomas Mann
Andre Gide
Ernest Hemingway

Do you like American culture?

Writer Fran Lebowitz said, "If you removed all the homosexuals and homosexual influence from what is generally regarded as American culture, you would be pretty much left with 'Let's Make a Deal.'"

Imagine American culture without the following people, all of whom were or are homosexual or bisexual:

Susan B. Anthony - who fought to get women the vote, and who is on the U.S. dollar coin
Herman Melville, author of Moby Dick
Joan Baez, folksinger
Josephine Baker, great jazz singer
Leonard Bernstein, probably America's greatest classical composer
Truman Capote, author
Willa Cather, author
Montgomery Clift, actor
Aaron Copland, composer of "Appalachian Spring"
Countee Cullen, poet
James Dean, actor
Emily Dickinson, poet
Babe Didrickson Zaharias, sportswoman
Marlene Dietrich, actress

continued

Errol Flynn, swashbuckling actor
 Stephen Foster, writer of the many of most popular tunes of the 19th and
 20th centuries- "My Old Kentucky Home," "Old Folks at Home," etc.
 Allen Ginsberg, beat generation poet
 Lorraine Hansberry, author of "Raisin in the Sun"
 Bruce Hayes, Olympic gold medal-winning swimmer (1984)
 J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director
 Robert Howard, author of "Conan the Barbarian"
 Glenn Burke, Oakland A's outfielder
 Martina Navratilova, tennis great
 Keith Haring, artist and cartoonist
 Jerry Smith, Washington Redskins tight end
 Rock Hudson, actor
 Anthony Perkins, actor
 Robert Reed of "The Brady Bunch"
 The woman who wrote "America, the Beautiful"
 Billie Jean King, tennis great
 Langston Hughes, author
 Alberta Hunter, jazz singer
 Liberace, piano whiz
 Margaret Mead, anthropologist
 Georgia O'Keefe, artist
 Rod McKuen, poet
 Jackie "Moms" Mabley, comedienne
 Sir Lawrence Olivier, actor
 Danny Kaye, actor and comedian
 Nathaniel Hawthorne, writer
 Cole Porter, our greatest popular songwriter of the 20th century
 Eleanor Roosevelt, first lady
 President James Buchanan
 Gertrude Stein
 Dorothy Thompson
 Big Bill Tilden, tennis star
 Andy Warhol, artist
 Walt Whitman, America's greatest poet
 Tennessee Williams, America's greatest playwright
 Virginia Woolf, writer
 Malcolm Forbes, capitalist
 Ernest Hemingway, writer
 Armistead Maupin, writer
 Alexander Hamilton, 18th century US politician
 Isadora Duncan, who began modern dance
 George Cukor, movie director

Now, if that's not enough famous homosexuals, here are a few others whose influence has been felt by all of western culture:

Alexander the Great
 Hans Christian Andersen
 Queen Anne of England
 Saint Augustine
 Sir Francis Bacon
 Samuel Barber

(continued)

Sir Benjamin Britten
Lord Byron
Julius Caesar
Noel Coward
Erasmus
E.M. Forster
King Frederick the Great of Prussia
Tsar Alexander I of Russia
Federico Garcia-Lorca
Andre Gide
Sir John Gielgud
Emperor Hadrian of Rome
Richard Halliburton
Dag Hammarsjold
Henry III of France
A.E. Housman
King James I (who commissioned the King James version of the Bible)
John Maynard Keynes, of Keynesian economics fame
Charles Laughton
T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia)
Leonardo da Vinci
Michelangelo
Thomas Mann
Christopher Marlowe
Edna St. Vincent Millay
Moliere
Florence Nightingale
Plato
Socrates
Marcel Proust
King Richard I of England
Robespierre
Franz Schubert, composer of the "Unfinished Symphony"
Bessie Smith
Peter Tchaikovsky, composer of "The Nutcracker Suite," "Swan Lake,"
"Romeo and Juliet," and countless masterpieces
Sara Teasdale
Rudolph Valentino
Gore Vidal
Oscar Wilde
Anne Frank
William King, U.S. Vice President under President Pierce

Where would we be without these people??

What does "Dear Abby" have to say about homosexuality?

"I've always known that there was nothing wrong with gay and lesbian people, that this is a natural way of life for them. Nobody molested them, nobody talked them into anything. They were simply born that way. It's in the genes, and I don't think environment has a heck of a lot to do with it." (Is is a Choice? by Eric Marcus, p. 11)

When did people finally realize that there's nothing wrong with homosexuals? Dr. Evelyn Hooker, a pioneering research psychologist, conducted a study of 30 heterosexual and 30 homosexual men, and found that there were no significant differences between the two groups. Her findings led to the American Psychological Association finally removing homosexuality from its list of "illnesses."

Please do not "spout off" about homosexuals if you do not know one. We are just like you, and God will surely not smile upon anyone who has condemned good people. If you don't stop the hatred for homosexuals' sake, you should stop for the sake of your own soul.

should there be gays in the military?" Goldwater says. "Having spent 37 years of my life in the military as a reservist, and never having met a gay in all of that time, and never having even talked about it in all those years, I just thought, why the hell *shouldn't* they serve? They're American citizens. As long as they're not doing things that are harmful to anyone else. So I came out for it."

He says he's mystified by the origins of homosexuality. "You try to find out where it started, even going back to old Egyptology—and you knew damn well the Egyptians had to have those people—but you can't find any writings," he says. "I have one grandson who's gay. And my brother [Bob Goldwater] has a granddaughter who is gay. We're sort of at a loss to know what the hell it's all about."

■
GOLDWATER SAYS THAT HAVING OPENLY GAY relatives doesn't influence his beliefs, which are animated by libertarian principles that government should stay out of people's private lives.

"He's pretty secure in feeling that discriminating against gays is constitutionally wrong," says Goldwater's gay grandson, Ty Ross, a Scottsdale, Ariz., artisan who says he is close to his grandfather (whom he calls "Paka") and has brought boyfriends to meet him. Ross, who is HIV-positive but healthy, adds, "We haven't really talked about it. He's so funny. He says, 'You people need to stand up for your rights'—one of those 'you people' kind of things."

Phoenix real estate entrepreneur and gay rights activist Charlie Harrison, who has been friendly with Goldwater since the senator began patronizing a restaurant Harrison owned 12 years ago, recalls a recent fund-raising dinner for Arizona gay men and lesbians at which Goldwater received one standing ovation after another. "He was treated like God," Harrison marvels. "Like the Grand Canyon come to Phoenix."

"Well, Charlie, I'm an honorary gay by now," Harrison says Goldwater told him.

All in all, a far cry from those glory days on the Radical Right.

"What I was talking about was more or less 'conservative,'" Goldwater recalls, saying he was smeared by the people around President Johnson—"the most dishonest man we ever had in the presidency." Goldwater continues: "The oldest philosophy in the world is conservatism, and I go clear back to the first Greeks. When you say 'radical right' today, I think of these moneymaking ventures by fellows like Pat Robertson and others who are trying to take the Republican Party away from the Republican Party and make



Barry Goldwater during his presidential campaign in 1964

“**T**he big thing is to make this country, along with every other country in the world with a few exceptions, quit discriminating against people just because they're gay,” Goldwater asserts. “You don't have to agree with it, but they have a constitutional right to be gay. And that's what brings me into it.”

Senate takes a cheap shot at gays

All too often, the honorables of Capitol Hill are seized with fits of foolishness, blithely churning out legislation they come to regret after their heads clear. A special category of this type of measure, intended to play to prejudices of the ill-informed, often is distinguished, so to speak, by the sponsorship of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

Recently, Helms and another upper-chamber grandstander, Sen. Robert Smith (R-N.H.), offered a seemingly unexceptional amendment to this year's education bill that would bar federal funds to any school district that encourages homosexuality.

A no-brainer, or so thought 66 senators (Georgia's Sam Nunn and Paul Coverdell included), and so they witlessly voted for it.

No-brainer, indeed. Helms's and Smith's view of "encouragement" is what many school districts think of as teaching simple tolerance of the people in our world. The senators' amendment also would prevent school guidance officials from referring pupils in turmoil

over their sexual identity to appropriate counselors. The intent of Helms and Smith, in fact, was to impose their own cramped notions about sex and AIDS on school officials across the land, using the threat to withdraw federal funding as leverage.

Hmmm. Whatever happened to local control of schools? That is, after all, a tenet of the conservative philosophy Helms and Smith purport to espouse. Apparently, local control doesn't apply when it impedes the two senators' efforts to land a few cheap shots at gays' expense.

Well, the damage isn't irreparable. The Senate version of the education bill has to be reconciled with its House counterpart. In so doing, the conferees ought to scrap the Helms-Smith amendment in favor of the lower chamber's formula from years past. It states simply that federal dollars will not be spent for programs that advocate homosexuality and leaves responsibility for creating policies at local schools where it belongs — with board members and parents.

THE ELECTIONS: GOOD, BAD, AND UGLY • THE NEW AIDS CZAR'S FIRST INTERVIEW

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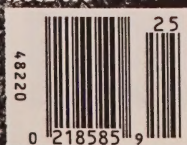
Advocate

DECEMBER 13, 1994

IS GOD GAY?

Tolerance of
homosexuals is
religion's new
cross to bear

ISSUE 670



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LAST-MINUTE HOLIDAY SHOPPING WITH CHER

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While homophobia runs rampant in mainstream denominations, the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches has become a major beneficiary of that bias as disaffected gay and lesbian Christians flock to join its swelling ranks.



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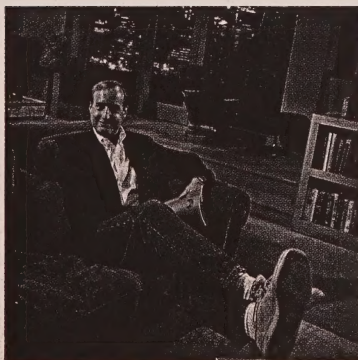
Allegations of payoffs to *POZ*, an AIDS-themed journal, are among charges of illegal behavior levied by a gay group against pharmaceutical giant Johnson & Johnson, the manufacturer of an experimental home HIV testing kit.



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Top comedy writer Joe Keenan is an essential member of the gay brain trust that creates *Frasier*, TV's wittiest sitcom. But he's also a comic Renaissance man whose imagination extends beyond the small screen to novels, screenplays, and musical comedy.



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ON THE COVER: Illustration by Steven Johnson Leyba for The Advocate

Q ■ Is God ■ Gay?

A ■

If not, more and more of his followers are. With holdings worth \$50 million, the Metropolitan Community Church has more than 40,000 members and is seeking to double its flock over the next ten years. But what MCC wants most—acceptance by the Christian establishment—remains just out of reach.

By John Gallagher

At noon on a sultry, overcast day in June, several hundred men and women gather in protest around a gray edifice on Riverside Drive in Manhattan. Linked by strands of rainbow-colored ribbon, they surround the building, which takes up a full block, while out front a minister intones a prayer. "Let God out of the box," the protesters chant. "Let God out of the box."

Unlike the spontaneous rage characteristic of ACT UP

demonstrators, this group's anger has a slightly forced feel to it—a tone more conciliatory than confrontational. These protesters are members and supporters of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (MCC), and their target is the headquarters of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (NCC), the influential ecumenical umbrella group that represents 32 denominations with 45 million members.

"Now is the time to demand that churches and religious institutions like the NCC use their money, power, scholarship, influence, and property to support the end of religious abuse of gay and lesbian people," says Rev. Nancy Wilson, MCC's chief ecumenical officer.

The protest was just one more salvo in an ongoing as-

STEVEN JOHNSON LEYBA FOR THE ADVOCATE



sault in which MCC, a denomination in its own right, has forced mainstream protestant denominations to deal with gay issues. "MCC put those issues on the agenda," says R. Stephen Warner, a professor of sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. "And now they won't go away, because MCC won't go away."

So far, however, despite plenty of debate the mainstream denominations are far from arriving at any pro-gay consensus. While these groups bicker and waffle over how to treat their gay members and cler-

"If you were to pick the ten fastest-growing denominations in the country, MCC would clearly be one of them."

—Rev. Lyle Schaller
Religious consultant

gy, MCC has been growing by leaps and bounds. "If you were to pick the ten fastest-growing denominations in the country, MCC would clearly be one of them," says Rev. Lyle Schaller, a nationally known consultant who advises parishes on growth and planning issues. "They are growing, while mainstream denominations are shrinking."

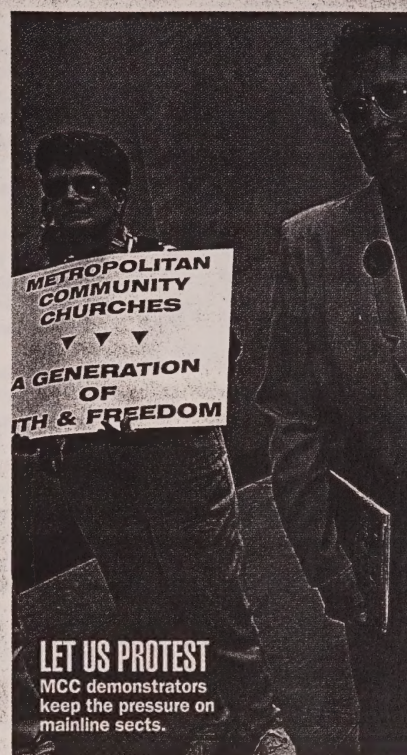
It has been 26 years since Rev. Troy Perry and 12 men and women celebrated the first MCC service in the minister's living room in Los Angeles, using a coffee table as an altar. In that time the denomination has grown to 42,000 voting members and nonvoting adherents in almost 300 churches in 16 countries. With contributions of \$10 million annually and property holdings worth \$50 million, MCC can claim to be the largest gay group in the United States, at least in financial terms.

"MCC is meeting the needs of a group that other denominations aren't meeting," Warner says of MCC's growth, though he adds that the explosion in its membership raises uncomfortable questions. "Is MCC siphoning off energies that might go into the Presbyterians or the Methodists? Does it serve as a safety valve to keep pressure down on those churches? In a sense MCC is doing a favor for protestant denominations in churching people others won't deal with. Somebody in those denominations can say, 'You've got your own church.'"

Perry emphasizes that MCC is not willing to accept that role. "We're not letting them off the hook," he says. Instead, he argues, MCC gives gay members of other denominations the support they need to "go back into their churches and push them to make a difference." But its role as a gadfly in no way compromises MCC's own bright future. "We're poised for growth," says Perry. "Our vision is to double in size in the next ten years."

One way to do that is to spend less time fretting over the issue of entry into NCC, as MCC has been doing since it first applied for membership in 1979. Two years ago NCC's general board voted 90 to 81 not to act on MCC's application for observer status, a position enjoyed by several Jewish and Muslim groups. The vote effectively squelched the issue. Though present at the annual convention of NCC's general board—held in New Orleans in November—MCC was not actively seeking membership or observer status.

"We were expending a lot of energy there," says Perry. "We have other ways of dealing with churches. We don't have to go through NCC." Indeed, MCC belongs to National Interfaith Impact, a religious lobbying group in Washington, D.C., as well as the AIDS National Interfaith Network. Neither group, however, is as influential as NCC, membership in which symbolizes respect and ac-



ceptance from mainline sects.

And the group's inability to come to terms with MCC still rankles some MCC members. "It seems that their organization is unable to deal with their homophobia," says Rev. Kirtledge Cherry, MCC's field director for Ecumenical Witness and Ministry. "It's gridlocked in terms of MCC status."

NCC denies charges of homophobia, and indeed many of its staffers and officials are clearly sympathetic to MCC. Rev. Dr. Joan Brown Campbell, NCC's general secretary, went so far as to participate in the protest in June. Says Cherry: "Having a protest against them is kind of a bizarre experience—they're so schizophrenic, they join in the protest against themselves." NCC also provided electricity for the June protest as well as access to its cafeteria and bathrooms. And it has accommodated other MCC requests: For the November convention, for instance, NCC agreed to send its board members flyers announcing MCC's forum



on the religious right that was held in conjunction with the meeting.

NCC is also undergoing, in ecclesiastical jargon, "a process of discernment," which is another in a series of dialogues about the status of MCC. In New Orleans, council members met with MCC representatives and with members of gay and lesbian caucuses from various denominations.

Nonetheless, there is unlikely to be any official movement soon. "There is no pending application for anything on behalf of MCC," notes Rev. Eileen Lindner, associate for ecumenical relations at NCC.

Two years ago, at the time of the NCC debate on MCC status—which Lindner calls "protracted and rancorous"—NCC officials said that while some member churches sided with MCC, including the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, and the Swedenborgian Church, several others indicated that they would pull out of the group if MCC's request were grant-

ed, particularly orthodox and predominantly black denominations. Elias Farajajones, a professor of divinity at Howard University, says many black denominations "have a history of being traditionally homophobic. From their point of view, to allow MCC in is apostasy, the end of the world." He adds, however, that "there are plenty of people in those churches who would object" to that stand.

Gay issues have, in fact, created divisions within the member denominations as well as between them. An interim report on MCC noted that "these issues run through the churches, not between them, like a seismic fault," says Sarah Vilankulu, NCC's director of interpretative resources. "It wasn't the Greek Orthodox Church against the United Church of Christ. It was something all the member churches were dealing with in one way or another."

Indeed, with many of the denominations in NCC in virtual meltdown over issues of sexual ethics, particularly homosexuality, "it is impossible for NCC to come to a decision unless its members can do so individually," says Lindner.

Although sexual ethics is the overriding factor, other considerations will also determine whether MCC ever succeeds in joining NCC. For one, by the lengthy standards of Christianity, MCC is still in swaddling clothes. As Lindner notes: "MCC began only in 1968. That makes it younger by 100 years than most of our members and by 250 years for many others."

More crucial are doctrinal matters. "I am interested in how the MCC brings together people from very disparate doctrinal backgrounds and makes them into a cadre of clergy in a single denomination," says Lindner. "Is this truly a national church, or is it a cluster of congregations that has no doctrinal similarity but is just huddled together on the issue of homosexuality?"

The gospel according to MCC



Rev. Troy Perry

In his second book, *Don't Be Afraid Anymore*, Rev. Troy Perry describes the three-pronged doctrine that unites all congregations of the Metropolitan Community Church, founded by Perry in 1968:

SALVATION: God so loved the world that God sent Jesus to tell us that whoever believes shall not perish but have everlasting life; and "whoever" includes gay men and lesbians, unconditionally, because salvation is free—no church can take it away.

COMMUNITY: For those who have no families who care about them, or who find themselves alone or friendless, the church will be a family.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION: We will stand up for all our rights, secular and religious, and we will fight the many forms of tyranny that oppress us.

The answer lies in MCC's short history, which has shaped its doctrinal character. Perry began his career as an ordained Pentecostal minister, married and the father of two sons. Unable to deny his orientation, however, he resigned from the Church of God of Prophecy and

*This Christmas give a
gift that's been laying
around for twelve years.*



ended his marriage by the time he was 24. After a stint in the Army, he returned to Los Angeles and gay life, where an unhappy love affair led him to attempt suicide. Finally, Perry became convinced that his mission was to start a new church for the gay community.

With the lilt of his Florida roots still in his voice, Perry describes his critics' early reactions: "Goodness gracious, a church for gays and lesbians! Isn't that funny?" But they became very hostile when we started growing."

Individual MCC churches are still subject to a range of threats and harassment. Vandals shot at King of Peace MCC in St. Petersburg, Fla., in September. Huntsville, Ala., residents protested the opening of an MCC in their town this fall, while the Boise, Ida., MCC floated around for weeks earlier in the year because no one was willing to house it. And in August the government of Argentina denied MCC legal recognition for its Buenos Aires chapter because of "an affinity for public demonstration, including marches

and methods of defense promoting not only homosexuals but also homosexuality as a whole."

Thus, while MCC congregations vary in character, they are united by a three-pronged doctrine emphasizing salvation, community, and social action, says Perry. The social action component grows out of the church's experience of persecution, especially in the early days when it faced police raids during services. Inextricably linked with the struggle for gay liberation, Perry and his followers often found themselves in the forefront at demonstrations, butting heads with police. Perry himself conducted numerous fasts and prayer vigils.

"Christian social action means I can't sit around," Perry says. "I don't accept oppression; I live out freedom. I have to get off my butt." MCC member churches generally have active AIDS ministries, and some have lesbian health and prison ministries as well. The New York City church passes out 1,500 bags of groceries to families every week and has six beds for the homeless.

But in other ways social action may be the hardest part of the doctrine to sell to the congregation, at least in political terms. Last year MCC passed out hundreds of thousands of cards to its members to send to Congress and the president, demanding a repeal of the Pentagon ban on gays in the military. How many were mailed is another matter; members of Congress reported that letters opposing the policy were swamped by those supporting it.

Soon to embark on a stint as MCC's minister of justice, a newly created position, Mel White sees MCC as increasing such efforts. "MCC represents the new activism," says White, a former ghostwriter for right-wing televangelists Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. "Those dear guys and women from ACT UP and Queer Nation have risked their lives and are now exhausted. The traditional activist has paid the price to open the door and raise the questions that need to be considered." Now, says White, it is up to MCC members to carry the baton.

Perry's background as a Pente-

costal minister is another influence on MCC's overall theological bent, which is clearly evangelical—providing an ironic link with some of its worst enemies, the evangelical churches. “Many MCC congregations can’t be clearly distinguished from evangelicals,” says Schaller. Warner agrees: “A lot of Evangelicals would be aghast at that comparison, but I would make it myself. Evangelicals think evangelicalism means you are heterosexual and have two kids, but it’s broader than that. You can go into an MCC congregation and think you’re in a typical evangelical church until you see that the couples going to communion are of the same sex.”

Newcomers may be put off by the evangelical character of many MCC services. White remembers entering his first MCC church, in North Hollywood, Calif., with his partner after driving around it for several months before finally going in. Given their high-liturgical backgrounds, what they found surprised them. “It was a dumpy little American Legion hall

with a cheap cross, plastic flowers, and a whole bunch of blue-collar folks clapping hands and singing,” he recalls. “We look back on it now as just plain culture shock.”

But for White, as for many other individuals coming out, MCC was a lifeline to the gay community. “It was literally the beginning of life for me because it was the first time I heard God speaking through a queer,” he says. “It won me over.” For gay men and lesbians, he argues, it was “the only game in town. If it was different from what I was used to, so be it. These are my brothers and sisters, and they’re on the front line. Where else am I going to go? I have to be there.”

Today, MCC churches cover the spectrum, notes White. “Each congregation reflects the pastor,” he says. “Some are warm and enthusiastic and evangelical, and others are far more theological and liturgical and liberal. MCC is not one thing—it is the sum of many things.”

Nonetheless, the church’s beginnings are rooted in a conservative

theology—which may be one of its strengths. “Whereas most of the mainline denominations are organized around religious law, MCC is clearly organized around God’s grace,” says Schaller. “In today’s world, that’s a winner. The legalisms of the mainline denominations aren’t selling well anymore.”

Such an explanation might also explain why MCC’s two largest churches are in the Bible Belt. The Cathedral of Hope in Dallas has 1,300 members, while the Sunshine Cathedral in Fort Lauderdale has about 750 people show up for its four services each Sunday. The \$3.5-million Dallas cathedral, which opened in 1992, is especially grand, with stained glass windows capturing such gay symbols as the lambda and the pink triangle.

“Until you see 1,300 gay and lesbian people worshiping, you have no idea what that does,” says Rev. Michael Piazza, the senior pastor at the Cathedral of Hope. “Part of the reason we built such a large building was to create synergy for bring-

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ing people together in a positive way." The church has also opened a columbarium as well as separate buildings for conducting meetings and counseling.

MCC may have to scramble to keep up with its growth, though. "One third of our churches are pastored by our laity," says Perry, and that's a particular problem because the churches that thrive are those with full-time pastors. Of MCC's ordained clergy, half are transfers from other denominations; the other half are members who felt called to ministry. The church is also trying to establish ties to the Chicago Theological Institute to train its clergy.

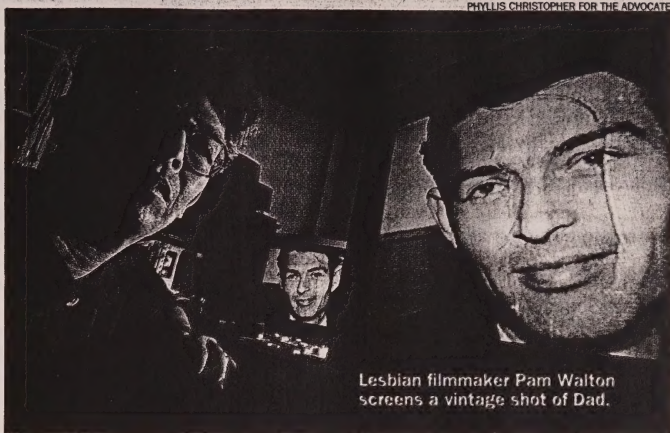
Given the rate of expansion, the usually affable Perry is frustrated that MCC is, in his words, "the best-kept secret in the gay and lesbian community." Many of the national gay political organizations "produce, I'm sorry to say, often just a lot of press releases. We live it every day."

MCC's growth is likely to continue as long as other churches fail to address issues of concern to gays and lesbians. The best that most denominations have been able to achieve, says Warner, is a patchwork of compromises, which individual churches can choose not to follow.

And even if the mainline denominations do reach some accommodation with gays and lesbians, says Warner, it may be too little to satisfy them: "What the church really means in about 90% of our society is a social institution based on a heterosexual nuclear family.

"Liberal churches are not going to reconstruct themselves at that most basic level," he continues. "That's why even a church that claims it wants to be open and affirming to gay people may not feel any different from those that are not. It's sort of like a white liberal church that says it welcomes black people, but you don't find a black person there because the service is so white and middle-class."

"I used to say in the early days that we were working to put ourselves out of business," says Perry. "But that's not going to happen. There are thousands of people in MCC who are very comfortable. They like the way we do business."



Lesbian filmmaker Pam Walton screens a vintage shot of Dad.

A family that prays together...

Pam Walton seeks a truce with a leading figure on the religious right—her father

By Chris Bull

A s part of his vision for a society based on biblical principles, the influential conservative author and activist Rus Walton has publicly flirted with the idea of imposing the death penalty for those who engage in same-sex intercourse. "Sodomy gnaws at the vitals and rots the soul of the nation that permits it to go unchallenged," Walton says in his popular book *Biblical Principles Concerning Issues of Importance to Christians*.

But for Walton the question is more complicated than a strict interpretation of scripture. Walton's daughter Pam is a lesbian filmmaker who has produced and directed two gay-themed documentaries. The two have been estranged since 1981, when Rus Walton cut all ties, refusing to answer her correspondence.

"I've felt a mixture of rage and sadness," says Pam Walton, 49, who now lives in Mountain View, Calif. "I just couldn't understand how he could perceive my letters as anything but loving."

Rus Walton, 72, who is the executive director of the fundamentalist advocacy group Plymouth Rock Foundation (PRF), declined to be

interviewed for this article. "I love my daughter dearly, I just don't agree with her lifestyle," he said when reached by telephone at his Marlborough, N.H., home, which also serves as PRF's headquarters.

As one of the founding fathers of an ultraconservative Christian political movement known as reconstruction, which seeks to replace the American legal system with laws derived from the Old Testament, Walton occupies an important behind-the-scenes position among religious fundamentalists. "Walton's more of a philosopher than a leader, but his organization plays an extremely important role on the right," says journalist Russ Bellant, who has written extensively about religious conservatives. "He was among the earliest to advocate the doctrine of a Christian nation—the idea that the colonial history of America should serve as the standard for contemporary American life."

Walton, however, is just the latest in a series of antigay fundamentalists with children who have acknowledged their homosexuality publicly or privately. Others include Phyllis Schlafly, whose son John came out in 1992, and Bill Byrne, a sponsor of an antigay resolution in Cobb County, Ga., whose daughter

Shannon came out this year.

"What's happening in the Walton family is typical of the hypocrisy of the religious right concerning family values," says Jerry Sloan, cochair of Project Tocsin, a watchdog group in Sacramento, Calif., that tracks the right wing. "Once they find that a child is gay or lesbian, they cast them out, although Christian values say we should love our children no matter who they are."

But Fred Clarkson, editor of *Front Lines Research*, a bimonthly journal that monitors the radical right, says the story provides a "useful lesson for everybody involved in the culture wars. Reconciliation of this sort is a very delicate thing, but the reality of gay and lesbian children on the right flies in the face of hardened religious beliefs. Personal experience can change views that are based purely in abstractions."

Although Rus Walton has continued to adhere to antigay positions at PRF, in recent months his relationship with his daughter has begun to thaw. In August, Pam Walton and her partner of eight years, Ruth Caranza, traveled to his modest home at her father's invitation. During the visit Walton confronted her father about his writings. "I said, 'Dad, I need to ask you something,'" she says. "I need to make sure you are not some wild-eyed extremist who wants to see me dead." He said that he doesn't agree with the death penalty and that the reason he hadn't connected in the past 15 years is that he had always imagined I was some hostile ACT UP type, and he could see he was wrong about that. He said he had never stopped loving me. I understood what he meant. I felt love for him too."

Pam Walton says she occasionally allows herself to dream of reconciliation. "My fantasy is that he will come to a Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays convention with me where we will show my video, standing side by side," she says. "Then I will go to one of his right-wing conventions, and I will stand up as his lesbian daughter. He would be a national hero for standing up to the bigots on their own turf. But then again, maybe I'm just being naive." •

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In good faith



IN ITS GLORY DAYS THE BLACK CIVIL rights movement looked for inspiration and guidance largely to dedicated spiritual leaders whose rhetoric was not about victimization, vengeance, separatism, us versus them. Instead, these leaders drew on the deepest elements of their religious traditions to speak of love and hope and common humanity, and they

called on men and women of all skin colors to be their best and bravest selves.

This, it seems to me, is a big part of what the gay rights cause needs now—and some of its most promising leaders realize it. Indeed, while many of the movement's longtime organizers and thinkers have come to it with backgrounds in political activism, some of the newer people on the scene bring with them a history of activity in faith communities. (A few even hold degrees in theology: Log Cabin Republicans director Rich Tafel, for instance, is an ordained American Baptist minister.) In California gay evangelicals are helping friends to escape the crippling "ex-gay" movement; in New York a gay Orthodox rabbi is publishing brilliant commentaries on Judaism and homosexuality.

The value of such people to the gay and lesbian cause, however, lies not in their ministerial collars but in their sense of spiritual mission. They are driven not by rage but by faith; they seek not power but reconciliation. For me, as both a Christian and a gay man, the involvement of such people in the gay rights movement is heartening. I'm also inspired by the heterosexuals I've met who have taken up leadership roles in their places of worship in support of gay marriage and the ordination of openly gay clergy. They do so for one reason: because their faith calls them to do what's right, and they know this is right.

Of course, since a lot of people have been taught that homosexuality is wrong, the desire to do what's right has also been a powerful force against us. Religious leaders such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell have been our enemies; many of us have been so abominably treated in the name of God—by our family churches or by our parents—that we equate Christianity with hatred. Just as some Christians, moreover, generalize about gay people on the basis of what they see on the more sensational TV clips of gay pride day marches, so gay people often think of all Christians as being like Robertson and Falwell.

This is a shame because Christianity, properly understood, isn't about hate; it's about love. And so is homo-

sexuality—a point that many Christians don't get. Yet more and more do get it, and as they do, their desire to do what's right is increasingly a force for us. For this reason I feel strongly that instead of bashing back at Christian gay bashers, we should be answering their charges with as much wisdom, dignity, and integrity as we can muster; instead of mocking faith and morality, we should make it clear that homosexuality is not inconsistent with faith and that morality, properly comprehended, demands not condemnation of gay people but respect for loving homosexual relationships.

There are, of course, self-styled Christians who equate their faith with their prejudices. But real Christians want to know what's true and to do what's right. Gay Christians perform an invaluable service to the gay rights cause by speaking openly about their lives to other members of their congregations! Why? Because the goodwill and mutual trust that develop in a church parish can compel straight people to listen to their gay friends—and learn.

Learn what? Among other things, that sexual orientation is morally neutral. A key point here is that most Christian denominations now recognize sex as good in itself and not just for reproductive purposes. A statement from an Anglican bishops' conference way back in 1958 says that sexual intercourse is "not by any means the only language of earthly love, but it is, in its full and right use, the most intimate and the most revealing; it has the

depth of communication signified by the Biblical word so often used for it, 'knowledge'; it is a giving and receiving in the unity of two free spirits which is in itself good (within the marriage bond) and mediates good to those who share it." What we must help straight Christians understand is that the same holds true for a loving, committed homosexual union as for one between husband and wife. Gay men and lesbians are created in such a way that the only kind of marriage in which this "unity" can truly exist for us is a homosexual marriage. To my mind this truth leads inexorably to the recognition that the only Christian way for any church to respond to the fact of homosexuality is to bless gay unions and to permit the ordination of openly gay clergy.

The bottom line is that however much some of us may have been burned by people who claim to speak for God, all human beings have a need for spiritual affirmation. And perhaps it's not unfair to suggest that gay men and lesbians—having received so much rejection in a world where the name of Love has come to stand in many quarters for a most vicious hate—need it more urgently than most.

Christianity, properly understood, isn't about hate; it's about love. And so is homosexuality.

TIME

First Family

The unlikely, untested and
unprecedented campaign of
Mayor **Pete Buttigieg**

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

The Democratic
presidential
candidate (right)
and husband
Chasten, at
their home in
South Bend, Ind.

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Elliot Ross for TIME

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TIME 100 SUMMIT

On Tuesday, April 23, TIME held its first annual TIME 100 Summit at Center415 in New York City. The day-long event convened more than 700 people including TIME 100 honorees, CEOs, philanthropists and next-generation leaders.



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JR; Tim Cook; José Andrés; Jane Goodall; Tarana Burke and Joy Reid; Oscar Munoz; Tyra Banks; Yo-Yo Ma

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The power of influence

THE TIME 100 LIST OF THE WORLD'S MOST influential people—and the annual gala that follows it—has always been a celebration of people shaping the news. This year, I'm happy to report that we made some news of our own.

On April 23, for the first time ever, we brought together TIME 100 honorees from across the years for a daylong summit. This extraordinary group of leaders and visionaries was a reflection of the unique mix of the TIME 100, including politicians, business leaders, artists, actors, activists and scientists.

Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi discussed the internal debate in her party about whether to initiate impeachment proceedings against President Trump, sharing her own view that it's "one of the most divisive paths we could go down in our country." Jared Kushner, senior adviser to (and son-in-law of) Trump, provided a rare glimpse into his expansive role in the Administration, arguing that the Mueller investigation has been "more harmful" to the U.S. than Russian interference in the 2016 campaign.

Supermodel and entrepreneur Tyra Banks talked about the importance of hiring and empowering woman, particularly women of color. Tim Cook, the leader of the world's first trillion-dollar company, talked about Apple's aspirations not for its iPhones and music service but as an innovator in health. "I do think," he said, "that there will be the day that we will look back and say, 'Apple's greatest contribution to mankind has been in health care.'" Trailblazing television creator Ryan Murphy spoke about representation in media: "I'm not interested in living in the real world. I'm interested in living in the world that I want to live in."

The day convened not only influential people but also influential objects! Yo-Yo Ma brought his cello and kicked off the morning with a meditation by Johann Sebastian Bach. Conservationist Jane Goodall,

whom the audience greeted with a standing ovation, brought the toy monkey with whom she travels around the world (Mr. H), as well as a stuffed cow (named Cow) meant to symbolize the benefits of vegetarianism. And TIME being an institution that embraces diverse points of view, Michelin-starred chef José Andrés brought a ham.

His signature *jamón ibérico* was shared with the audience (a group of about 700, including select TIME subscribers) ahead of his conversation with Martha Stewart about the power of food to deliver hope. You can watch highlights from the day at time.com/summit

THE SUMMIT WAS a first step to tap into the collective power of the TIME 100 and encourage cross-disciplinary collaboration within it. Our hope is that the list is not only a recognition of what has been done—but also a call for all the work that's left to do. We look forward to engaging the entire TIME community as we expand this exciting initiative.

Another initiative I'm excited about is connecting our readers to the major 2020 presidential candidates from each party. This week, Charlotte Alter talks to Democratic presidential hopeful Pete Buttigieg—the first in a series of these profiles. "We're obviously

still in the very beginning of the race, and the only rule of politics is that everything changes," says Alter, who first met Buttigieg in 2017 while reporting a story on millennial mayors. "But Democrats have been talking about Biden, Warren, Harris and Sanders since the moment Trump was elected. Buttigieg is the only major 2020 candidate who seems to have come out of nowhere."



Felsenthal interviews Hillary Clinton at the summit

Edward Felsenthal,
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MORE THAN 700 PEOPLE attended the inaugural TIME 100 Summit in Manhattan on April 23, and thousands more tuned in from around the world for the livestream of conversations led by TIME journalists and TIME 100 honorees. Watch highlights from the invitation-only event at time.com/summit and entire panels at youtube.com/TIME



'If the path of fact-finding takes us there, we have no choice... We're not there yet.'

NANCY PELOSI,

Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, on whether her fellow Democrats should hold hearings on impeaching President Trump



SNEAK PEEK

Attendees also previewed TIME's and Felix & Paul Studios' virtual-reality look at life on the International Space Station, captured by Canadian astronaut David Saint-Jacques. Get a glimpse of the immersive documentary series, debuting in 2020, at time.com/space



"Come and sit at the table." That small gesture speaks volumes.'

GAYLE KING,

CBS *This Morning* co-host, on what white men can do to help their female and minority colleagues, on a panel with, from left, venture capitalist Aileen Lee, Bumble CEO Whitney Wolfe Herd and entrepreneur Tyra Banks

A DIP FOR DENIERS

Jane Goodall, the 85-year-old conservationist who revolutionized the study of chimpanzees, challenged members of her audience to use their ability to think big to come up with a bold plan to conserve earth's limited resources and species—and fast. Though she brought toy animals onstage as visual aids, her subject was serious. "Deniers of climate change, I want them to go to the Antarctic where the sea ice is melting faster than ever before," she said, "and dump them in the middle of it."



'Just because it's black don't mean it's woke.'

LEE DANIELS,

Empire co-creator, arguing that when it comes to filmmaking, the message is more important than the messenger



AFTER MUELLER

DAYS AFTER THE RELEASE of special counsel Robert Mueller's redacted report on Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, senior adviser to the President **Jared Kushner** argued at the summit that the probe and its fallout had been worse for American democracy than anything Russia did, which he characterized as "buying some Facebook ads to try to sow dissent." (The Mueller report described Russian interference ranging from hacking to pursuing meetings with members of the Trump campaign.) "If you look at the magnitude of what they did," Kushner said, "the ensuing investigations have been way more harmful."



'When your founder doesn't have one, it kinda says a lot of what people can do without a college education.'

TIM COOK,

Apple CEO, on the fact that about half of the company's U.S. hires in 2018 don't have a four-year college degree



TIME 100



On Tuesday, April 23, TIME held its 15th annual TIME 100 Gala at New York City's Jazz at Lincoln Center to celebrate the world's most influential people. More than 300 luminaries attended, including artists, activists, leaders, and entrepreneurs from around the world.



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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

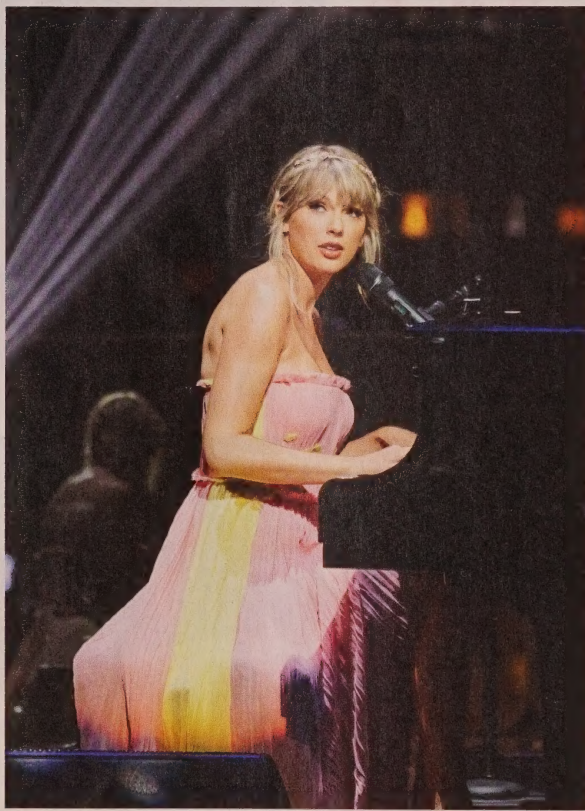
Lauren Bush Lauren, David Lauren, Julianne Moore and Clare Waight Keller; Khalid and Taylor Swift; Sandra Oh; Questlove; Jimmy Fallon; Trevor Noah, Mohamed Salah and Hasan Minhaj; Sophia Bush and Nancy Pelosi; Annie Starke and Glenn Close; Yalitza Aparicio; Dwayne Johnson

Please Drink Responsibly. Imported by Diageo, Norwalk, CT.

TIME 100 Gala

A starry evening

THE INFLUENTIAL INDIVIDUALS ON THE TIME 100 OFTEN say one of the best parts of being on the list is the opportunity to meet in person the people who, in turn, influence them at the TIME 100 Gala, held this year on April 23 at Jazz at Lincoln Center. When Sandra Oh started to offer a toast, she was briefly distracted by the Speaker of the House. "Are you kidding me? Are you kidding me? Nancy Pelosi! I literally glanced this way, and this is who I see," she said. "It's fantastic." And Dwayne Johnson later reflected on Instagram that he was glad to now be "best friends" with Glenn Close. "So much love and respect for her," he wrote. "And thank you for calling me the 'Beyoncé for men.'" See more at [TIME.com/TIME100](https://www.time.com/TIME100)



Three-time TIME 100 honoree Taylor Swift performs her hit songs "Love Story" and "New Year's Day"



Top: Naomi Campbell takes a selfie. Bottom: Edward Felsenthal with Game of Thrones' Emilia Clarke and 2018 Person of the Year Maria Ressa



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi with, from left, comedians Trevor Noah, John Oliver and Jimmy Fallon



Right: TIME co-chairs and owners Lynne and Marc Benioff, center, at dinner, flanked by Gayle King and Dwayne Johnson



Left: Glenn Close, center, talks to Julianne Moore, center below, with Marlon James, center left, and Helena Christensen, right. Above: Sandra Oh, right, and Indya Moore

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The Brief

IN DANGER
Amid the turmoil
on April 30, a
protester is hit
by a Venezuelan
National Guard
vehicle in Caracas



INSIDE

A NEW ERA BEGINS FOR THE
JAPANESE MONARCHY

SRI LANKA FACES QUESTIONS ON
RESPONSE TO EASTER BOMBINGS

HORSE FATALITIES HAVE RACING
ADVOCATES WORRIED

PHOTOGRAPH BY UESLEI MARCELINO

WORLD

The U.S. watches, Venezuela teeters

By Karl Vick

IN THE PREDAWN HOURS OF APRIL 30, THE contest for control of Venezuela once again appeared to be coming to a head. Juan Guaidó, the young reformer who claims the mantle of President, announced from inside a military base in the capital, Caracas, that he was taking charge. And nearby stood evidence that the security forces were finally falling in line: fellow opposition leader Leopoldo López, freed from house arrest, his guards apparently having defected.

"At this moment, I am with the main military units of our armed forces, starting the final phase of Operation Liberty," Guaidó said. He called on Venezuelans to gather in the streets to take power from Nicolás Maduro, who has sat in the presidential palace since 2013 but whose presidency has been deemed null and void by much of the international community.

By day's end, however, the uprising was anything but final—and the only thing clear was how much has changed in Latin American politics in the 21st century. From 1900 to 2006, power changed hands in the region 162 times via military coup, typically announced from the studio of a state broadcaster. In a striking number of cases—at least 41, by the count of a Harvard study—the force behind the coup was the U.S., which maintained a proprietary hold over the hemisphere it regarded as its realm.

This time the picture is as diffuse as the forces holding the situation in stalemate. Washington clearly has an appetite for toppling Maduro, as tweets from Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Vice President Mike Pence made clear. But Uncle Sam could credibly claim to be one of a crowd. Some 50 nations recognize Guaidó's claim to the presidency, and support also came in tweets from the governments of Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and others. It was Chile that opened a diplomatic residence to López, free from house arrest but not safe in a divided and dangerous Caracas. He later moved to the Spanish embassy.

Just as in February, when Guaidó traveled to Venezuela's border with Colombia in hopes of riding blockaded aid trucks to victory, things did not go as

planned. Geoff Ramsey, an analyst at the Washington Office on Latin America, told TIME the day showed that "neither the regime nor the opposition is as strong as they thought they were."

Neither is Washington. As Maduro's security forces resisted and Guaidó's call to action fizzled, top Trump Administration officials were reduced to accusing Maduro loyalists of backing out of promises to defect.

SO THE STANDOFF RESUMED. Maduro remains deeply unpopular, tied as he is to the near total collapse of the economy, which has driven 3.7 million Venezuelans to leave the oil-rich country. That exodus into the neighboring nations has galvanized the region to overthrow Maduro—but nonviolently.

Yet despite U.S. economic sanctions, Maduro still has funds to buy the loyalty of senior military officers. And Guaidó isn't the only one with international backers. Maduro has the support of Cuba, China and, most of all, Russia, drawn both by oil and ambition. And ordinary Venezuelans fear the plainclothes thugs loyal to Maduro known as *colectivos*, notorious for firing into crowds and targeting protesters.

The Trump Administration is preoccupied by the involvement of Moscow and Havana in Maduro's survival. In a tweet on April 30, President Donald Trump threatened a "full and complete embargo" on Cuba if it did not withdraw troops he said were assisting Maduro. Pompeo earlier claimed the Kremlin had stepped in to persuade Maduro not to flee. "He had an airplane on the tarmac, he was ready to leave this morning, as we understand it," he said in an interview, "and the Russians indicated he should stay."

Ramsey says the White House has involved itself in Venezuela mainly to enhance electoral prospects among right-wing expatriates of the region in Florida. White House National Security Adviser John Bolton was at the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association on April 17, the 58th anniversary of the Cuban exiles' failed bid to take back the island with the backing of the CIA. But the White House threat that "all options are on the table" has not reached the Pentagon, which has said it has no plans to intervene. Clearly, Maduro feels he can confidently ignore the saber's rattle.

"In some ways it's good, obviously, because the U.S. is no longer the great regional hegemon that determines everything that happens," says Phil Gunson, a Latin America analyst with the International Crisis Group. "The sense that this is more multipolar now is not by any means a bad thing. But there doesn't seem to be an easy way to resolve these things anymore."



'Guaidó and Leopoldo López are in a situation where there is no turning back.'

HAMILTON MOURÃO,
Brazil's Vice President,
on Guaidó (above left)
and López (right)



ENTER THE KING Japan's Emperor Naruhito begins his reign with a speech at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo on May 1, a day after his father, 85-year-old Emperor Akihito, became the nation's first monarch to step down in more than 200 years. After 30 years as the 125th Emperor of Japan, Akihito was given special dispensation to step down because of declining health. Naruhito, 59, promised to act as a "symbol of the Japanese state and the unity of the Japanese people."

THE BULLETIN

Sri Lanka bans face coverings as it scrambles to respond to Easter attacks

EIGHT DAYS AFTER THE APRIL 21 BOMBINGS in Sri Lanka left at least 253 dead, the government announced that all face coverings would be banned in public, saying the move would help the search for those involved. The bombings, carried out by alleged Islamist militants who targeted churches and high-end hotels, were the most fatal violence the country has suffered since its civil war ended in 2009. Although the ban did not specifically mention Islamic veils, critics have denounced the measure for stirring suspicions against Muslims, who make up 9.7% of Sri Lanka's diverse population.

UNDER PRESSURE After ISIS on April 23 claimed responsibility for the attacks, there were reports of mobs roaming the streets and beatings of Muslim residents. Nearly 1,000 mostly Muslim refugees fled or were forced out of their homes in the week following the bombings, according to Human Rights Watch. No deaths have so far been reported, but in that climate, Muslim community leaders say, the ban on face coverings was ill-conceived—especially given that they had already agreed to a voluntary suspension of veil wearing.

CRACKDOWN The face-covering ban hasn't been the only decision to draw scrutiny of Sri Lanka's response to the Easter Sunday attacks. For nine days after the attacks, the government blocked social-media services including Facebook and WhatsApp in an attempt to stop the spread of misinformation; it's unclear whether that made a difference. Meanwhile, some of those behind the plot are still believed to be at large. A shoot-out on April 26 left 15 people dead, including three suspected suicide bombers and six children, according to authorities.

RELIGIOUS TENSION The Sri Lankan government has been heavily criticized for its failure to prevent the attacks despite receiving advance warnings from Indian intelligence agencies. The country has a long history of ethnic tension, and in recent years Buddhist nationalists (who are part of the Sinhalese majority) have attacked both Muslims and Christians. With presidential elections due to be held by the end of 2019, whether their government can protect the country from future violence—without widening religious fault lines—is on the minds of many Sri Lankans. —BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

Trump adds new asylum restrictions

President Donald Trump on April 29 outlined new requirements for asylum seekers at the U.S.-Mexico border, including **application fees and work-permit restrictions**. His memo gives officials 90 days to implement the new restrictions and orders all cases in the system to be closed in 180 days.

Sports court rules against Semenya

The top court governing international sports, in a landmark May 1 decision, rejected Olympic runner Caster Semenya's challenge to limits on testosterone levels for athletes in women's track events.

The ruling means **female athletes with naturally high levels of the hormone will have to take suppressants** to compete in many races.

Two dead in North Carolina shooting

A gunman opened fire at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte on April 30, killing two people and wounding four others.

The police **found and disarmed the suspected shooter** and took him into custody before he could move on to another classroom.

NEWS TICKER

300 poll workers dead in Indonesia

Indonesia's April 17 elections were linked to the deaths of over 300 poll workers, many of whom reportedly **suffered fatigue-related ailments after working long hours in high heat**, the elections commission said on April 29. The country has until May 22 to reach a final count on more than 150 million votes.

U.S. backed out on NoKo hostage bill

The U.S. **did not pay a North Korean medical bill for North Otto Warmbier**—the American who died days after being released from custody there in 2017—despite agreeing to it, National Security Adviser John Bolton said on April 28, confirming a Washington Post report that President Donald Trump had earlier called “fake news.”

Center-left triumphs at Spanish polls

Spain's center-left **Socialist Party won the country's April 28 elections** with 123 of 350 seats in congress. The main center-right party lost half its seats, in part because far-right party Vox took 24 seats—the first for a far-right party since the death of Spain's right-wing dictator Francisco Franco in 1975.

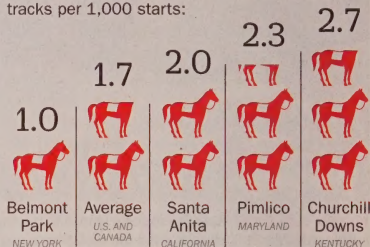
GOOD QUESTION

Why are so many racehorses dying?

THE KENTUCKY DERBY, WHICH WILL BE run for the 145th time on May 4, is America's oldest continuously held major sporting event. But this year, talk of mint juleps and Triple Crown dreams may be overshadowed by a disturbing spate of horse deaths, and by fresh calls for regulation. Since late December, nearly two dozen thoroughbreds have died racing or training at California's Santa Anita Park alone, forcing a temporary shut-down. The cause of those deaths is unknown, though the county is investigating. But advocates see them as part of a larger problem: in 2018 in the U.S. and Canada, an average of almost 10 horses a week died or were euthanized within 72 hours of sustaining a catastrophic race injury. —EMILY BARONE

FATALITIES ON U.S. TRACKS

Last year, 493 horses died in the U.S. and Canada from racing injuries. That's down from past years but higher than in Australia or the U.K. Here are deaths at select tracks per 1,000 starts:



The home of the famed Kentucky Derby had 16 fatalities per 5,856 race starts last year

WHAT MAY BE HARMING HORSES

Racing advocacy groups are calling for reform in areas including:

Track conditions: The most lethal injuries, involving muscle and bone, are often caused by surface inconsistencies. Tracks with uniform cushioning and moisture levels are safer.



Painkillers: At some tracks, horses can receive pain-suppressing drugs the day before a race. A horse that can't fully feel an injury may exacerbate it.

Other drugs: The industry tolerates doping, and a drug called Lasix, meant for a lung condition, is widely used because it induces urination. This makes a horse lighter and faster, but also dehydrated for days.

SOURCE: CHURCHILL DOWNS DEATH COUNTS ARE FROM THE LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL; ALL OTHERS ARE FROM THE JOCKEY CLUB'S EQUINE-INJURY DATABASE

MEDIA

Paper jams

Australian tabloid the *Daily Telegraph* accidentally included two pages from its rival paper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in its April 25 edition. Here, other swappy copy. —Madeline Roache

SINNER'S SLIP

One small word changed a big idea when it was omitted from a 1631 Bible, making the Seventh Commandment “Thou shalt commit adultery.” A thousand copies were printed of the much sought-after “Wicked Bible.”

EARLY EDITION

The Chicago Tribune went to press early and wound up with history's most famous incident of printing the wrong thing, declaring a White House win for Thomas Dewey over actual 1948 victor Harry S. Truman.



ERROR MESSAGE

In 2016, the installation of a web-browser extension led unintentionally to President Donald Trump's name on *Wired* magazine's website being replaced with the words “Someone With Tiny Hands.”

Milestones

DIED

Serbian journalist **Dejan Anastasijevic**, who covered the rise of nationalism in his country, for outlets including *TIME*, on April 24 at 57.

APPEARED

ISIS leader **Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi**, in a video on April 29, after disappearing for five years, during which experts had thought he might have been dead or seriously injured.

DONATED

\$500,000 to Mexico-based projects that help migrants stopped at the U.S. border, by **Pope Francis**, the Vatican said on April 27.

OUSTED

National Rifle Association president Oliver North, by the group, amid controversy over NRA spending and a leadership struggle with CEO Wayne LaPierre. The clash came amid dueling allegations of mismanagement and extortion; LaPierre won re-election to his role on April 29.

DECLARED

That workers at an unidentified **gig-economy company** are **contractors**—not employees—by the U.S. Department of Labor on April 29. The case has implications for companies such as Uber and Lyft.

FOUND

A **beluga whale** wearing a Russian harness and a GoPro camera, by fishermen off the coast of Norway. Marine experts believe the whale was trained by the Russian navy to search for boats.



Singleton on the set of *Boyz n the Hood*; when the film screened at Cannes in 1991, it received a 20-minute standing ovation

DIED

John Singleton Cinema trailblazer

THE “OSCARS SO WHITE” DEBACLE OF 2015 OPENED A GALVANIZING conversation about how filmmakers of color might carve out greater opportunity in Hollywood. But John Singleton, who died on April 29 at age 51 following a stroke, was at the forefront of that battle long before we had a hashtag for it, ushering in a new era of creativity and boldness among black filmmakers.

Singleton's 1991 debut, *Boyz n the Hood*, dealt frankly with inner-city violence, but to say it is “about” violence is to grossly oversimplify it. Singleton, barely in his 20s when he wrote and directed the film, told a story about the tragedy of black men killing one another, but even that was only a small story within a bigger one. *Boyz n the Hood* is also about parents who strive to raise their kids with sturdy values, and young people who want to do what's right even when circumstances pull them in another direction. Although set in a specific time and place, the tale is universal—and so beautifully told that it feels fresh nearly 30 years later. It made Singleton the youngest person and the first African American to be nominated for a Best Director Oscar, and he went on to forge a long-lasting and varied career for himself as a director, writer and producer, both in film and, more recently, in television.

Singleton spoke volumes through his movies, and through the projects of others that he helped bring to life. But he also spoke like a man who knew how to listen—one who knew that listening, not just talking, is the way to keep the conversation going, and the only path to fixing a world that can sometimes feel irreparably broken. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

DIED

Richard Lugar Worldly Senator

WHEN THE IRON CURTAIN fell in 1991, large arsenals of nuclear warheads were left vulnerable in the care of former Soviet states ill equipped to dismantle them. The world feared these weapons could fall into dangerous hands—so Senator Richard Lugar, who died on April 28 at age 87, did something about it. The 1991 Soviet Nuclear Threat Reduction Act, which he drafted with Senator Sam Nunn, led to the deactivation of more than 7,600 nuclear weapons around the world.

His dedication to nuclear nonproliferation was not the only way the moderate Republican Senator from Indiana, who served six consecutive terms, secured a legacy as a foreign-affairs heavyweight. He served twice as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and, as an outspoken voice against apartheid in South Africa, was instrumental in overturning President Reagan's veto of trade sanctions against the country.

In 2012, President Obama awarded Lugar the Presidential Medal of Freedom. “He understood the intricacies of America's power,” Obama remarked following Lugar's passing, “and the way words uttered in Washington echo across the globe.”

—WILDER DAVIES



Conductor **Yannick Nézet-Séguin** is ushering in a new act for the Metropolitan Opera

By Lily Rothman

IN THE FLY SPACE ABOVE THE STAGE AT THE Metropolitan Opera and around and behind it, scenery waits to be called into action. An intricate system of pulleys and lifts allows quick changes. Today's afternoon rehearsal for *Dialogues des Carmélites*, for example, will be followed only hours later by a performance of *Rigoletto*. And in a place of many moving pieces, Yannick Nézet-Séguin fits right in—even though he's standing at the head of the orchestra in a T-shirt and sneakers while the singers are costumed for 18th century France.

Nézet-Séguin, whose conducting of Francis Poulenc's *Carmélites* will put a bow on his first season as music director at the New York City institution, is a man with many batons in the air. He fills parallel roles at the Philadelphia Orchestra and at the Orchestre Métropolitain, in his hometown of Montreal, and when he began this gig in 2018, it was two years ahead of schedule. The appointment was announced in 2016 for a 2020 start, but the timeline changed when his predecessor, James Levine, who'd held the job since 1976, was fired over accusations of sexual misconduct, which he denies but which were backed up by internal investigation. So he's plenty busy, and that's all in addition to his role in wider soul-searching about nothing less than the very future of classical music.

But on this rainy late-April day, he has more immediate work to focus on. Outside the auditorium, heavy-duty vacuums hum loudly across crimson carpets. Inside, the air fills with the notes that will be heard by audiences that come out to see *Carmélites* in person and at more than 2,200 movie theaters around the world that will, on May 11, host a live broadcast of the production.

Rehearsal went smoothly, Nézet-Séguin says afterward, sitting down to chat in a luxe dining room at the Met, and he feels similarly about his official first season. Although he wasn't really new here, having made his Met debut conducting *Carmen* in 2009 and easing into this job over the past two years, it's been "liberating" to be in the driver's seat. He decided at age 10 to be a conductor, and although his post entails conducting not only several operas a year but also a whole musical enterprise—with a hand in everything from the Young Artist Development Program to the arrangement of music stands—he says that's a good fit with the gregariousness that led him away from the

NÉZET-SÉGUIN QUICK FACTS

On the wall
Nézet-Séguin's favorite opera composers, whose pictures hang in his office, are Mozart, Verdi, Puccini and Strauss.

Wrist risk
The conductor got tendinitis from tensing his left hand to signal expression to the orchestra; he now stretches more and wears his watch on the other wrist for balance.

Pop quiz
Nézet-Séguin's nonclassical musical tastes favor Radiohead and Björk, whom he calls "the best pop artists ever."

more solitary pursuit of playing the piano. His priority has been to bring that mood to work, to help his colleagues feel "love for the art form again" after a difficult few years, so they pass on the feeling to audiences.

"In that respect I feel that it exceeded my expectations," he says of his first season, "because I felt immediately—from the orchestra, from the chorus and from everyone—really a willingness. They were not hard to convince."

It hasn't been hard to convince others to be enthusiastic about the Met's new era, either. Nézet-Séguin is shadowed today by the crew of a new documentary being made about him, and much media coverage of his Met appointment framed him as a last best hope for opera. The *New York Times* called him "quite possibly a savior for the troubled company," and riffing on an oft-cited nickname for the compact and energetic conductor, the Associated Press declared that "Mighty Mouse has come to save the Met." He's gotten used to the cameras, but the hero rhetoric sits less easily.

"I certainly don't see myself as a savior. The Met doesn't need to be saved," he says, leading the way to stop in at his office, a cozy space with windows on the plaza at Lincoln Center. "But I see my personality as helping, arriving at the right time."

NÉZET-SÉGUIN IS BRINGING more than just personality to the Met. He's become a symbol of change partly because of the man waiting for him in his office: violist Pierre Tourville, his long-time partner. The openness of Nézet-Séguin's Instagram-friendly life with Tourville and their cats is a rejoinder to old stereotypes about a glowering, distant, all-powerful maestro on a pedestal. And while he can't personally exemplify other types of diversity lacking in his field—a 2016 League of American Orchestras study found only 5% of conductors at major orchestras it looked at were African American; about 9% of all music directors were women—he sees championing inclusivity as key.

Working with general manager Peter Gelb, he plans to be closely involved in ensuring that what plays here better represents the world as it is, and in the process strengthening the company's connection to its city. Since its doors opened in 1883, the Met has performed only two operas by women; now it's actively commissioning them. For proof that this work is necessary, he points to history: Felix Mendelssohn's sister Fanny and Robert Schumann's wife Clara "put aside their great genius to serve the man's genius," he says. A person doesn't have to stop enjoying the better-known Mendelssohn and Schumann to acknowledge it's a shame we'll never know the music their counterparts could have created had they been able to flourish fully. Encouraging female and minority composers, conductors and



musicians is a promise to the next generation not to deprive them of great music that remains unwritten.

It's also a financial imperative. Nézet-Séguin is careful to stay away from talk about audiences dying out, which doesn't exactly make loyal patrons feel good, but he knows he must show potential new listeners that opera is for them too. It's time for artists to realize, he says, that it's no longer enough to play great music with great skill. They must forge a connection with the audience, and his role puts him at the forefront of that work.

It won't be easy. The venerable opera company has been selling tickets at two-thirds of its potential, as of the 2017 fiscal year; less than 30% of the revenue that balanced its \$301 million budget that year came from box office, with most of the rest from contributions. And it's not just the Met. When Nézet-Séguin arrived in Philly in 2012, that orchestra had recently gone through bankruptcy; the Met's neighboring New York City Opera also went through that process. Precarious finances introduce other risks too: an obsession with filling seats makes experimentation extra scary. "Of

course, everybody would like to think that budgets would be balanced all the time," he says. "But I think to fight a little bit more for your survival, this is what also keeps us alive."

Some critics have questioned how Nézet-Séguin can handle it all at once. To that, he says that splitting time among three cities is easier than the typical conductor's lifestyle of managing one orchestra and traveling the rest of the year, and that the companies are so different, there's no risk of a muddle. Whether critics are satisfied remains to be seen—conducting is a long-term endeavor—but he feels up to it. "I'm 44. I'm still very energetic," he says.

Energy helps, but to Nézet-Séguin, what sets his generation of conductors apart is a willingness to break down boundaries between musical genres, between those in the pit and the person on the podium, between audience and orchestra. A bit of mystique might be lost, but something special can take its place. Restaurants, he says, took time to get used to the idea of open kitchens; now they're everywhere. "We just need to think the same way," he says. "It doesn't detract from being the best." □

I certainly don't see myself as a savior. The Met doesn't need to be saved.'

YANNICK NÉZET-SÉGUIN, on the expectations he faces

Seizing the day

The end of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's three decades in power came in early April, after four months of mass protests. But the celebratory aura around Khartoum has since faded, and the protests aren't over. Weeks later, representatives of the ruling military council and civilian negotiators, tasked with forming a transitional government, remain divided over the role of the military. Here, on April 19, thousands of protesters gather outside military headquarters, demanding a swift transition to civilian rule.

Photograph by Bryan Denton—The New York Times/Redux
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—KATY

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- **Liver problems (hepatitis).** Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes, nausea or vomiting, pain on the right side of your stomach area

(abdomen), dark urine, feeling less hungry than usual, or bleeding or bruising more easily than normal.

- **Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, adrenal glands, and pancreas).** Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include rapid heartbeat, weight loss or weight gain, increased sweating, feeling more hungry or thirsty, urinating more often than usual, hair loss, feeling cold, constipation, your voice gets deeper, muscle aches, dizziness or fainting, or headaches that will not go away or unusual headache.
- **Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure.** Signs of kidney problems may include change in the amount or color of your urine.
- **Skin problems.** Signs of skin problems may include rash, itching, blisters, peeling or skin sores, or painful sores or ulcers in your mouth or in your nose, throat, or genital area.
- **Problems in other organs.** Signs and symptoms of these problems may include changes in eyesight; severe or persistent muscle or joint pains; severe muscle weakness; low red blood cells (anemia); swollen lymph nodes, rash or tender lumps on skin, cough, shortness of breath, vision changes, or eye pain (sarcoidosis); confusion, fever, muscle weakness, balance problems, nausea, vomiting, stiff neck, memory problems, or seizures (encephalitis); and shortness of breath, irregular heartbeat, feeling tired, or chest pain (myocarditis).
- **Infusion (IV) reactions that can sometimes be severe and life-threatening.** Signs and symptoms of infusion reactions may include chills or shaking, shortness of breath or wheezing, itching

Important Safety Information is continued on the next page.



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IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION (continued)

or rash, flushing, dizziness, fever, or feeling like passing out.

- **Rejection of a transplanted organ.** People who have had an organ transplant may have an increased risk of organ transplant rejection if they are treated with KEYTRUDA.
- **Complications, including graft-versus-host disease (GVHD), in people who have received a bone marrow (stem cell) transplant that uses donor stem cells (allogeneic).** These complications can be severe and can lead to death. These complications may happen if you underwent transplantation either before or after being treated with KEYTRUDA. Your doctor will monitor you for the following signs and symptoms: skin rash, liver inflammation, abdominal pain, and diarrhea.

Getting medical treatment right away may help keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your doctor will check you for these problems during treatment with KEYTRUDA. Your doctor may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. Your doctor may also need to delay or completely stop treatment with KEYTRUDA if you have severe side effects.

Before you receive KEYTRUDA, tell your doctor if you have immune system problems such as Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, or lupus; have had an organ transplant or plan to have or have had a bone marrow (stem cell) transplant that used donor stem cells (allogeneic); have lung or breathing problems; have liver problems; or have any other medical problems. If you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, tell your doctor. KEYTRUDA can harm your unborn baby. Females who are able to become pregnant should use an effective method of birth control during treatment

and for at least 4 months after the final dose of KEYTRUDA. Tell your doctor right away if you become pregnant during treatment with KEYTRUDA.

If you are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed, tell your doctor. It is not known if KEYTRUDA passes into your breast milk. Do not breastfeed during treatment with KEYTRUDA and for 4 months after your final dose of KEYTRUDA.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Common side effects of KEYTRUDA when given with certain chemotherapy medicines include: feeling tired or weak, nausea, constipation, diarrhea, decreased appetite, rash, vomiting, cough, trouble breathing, fever, hair loss, and inflammation of the nerves that may cause pain, weakness, and paralysis in the arms and legs.

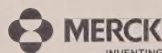
These are not all the possible side effects of KEYTRUDA. Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Please read the adjacent Important Information About KEYTRUDA and discuss it with your oncologist.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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Important Information About KEYTRUDA® (pembrolizumab) injection 100 mg. Please speak with your healthcare professional regarding KEYTRUDA (pronounced key-truh-duh). Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how KEYTRUDA may work with your overall treatment plan. If you have any questions about KEYTRUDA, speak with your healthcare professional. **KEY ONLY**

What is the most important information I should know about KEYTRUDA? KEYTRUDA is a medicine that may treat certain cancers by working with your immune system. KEYTRUDA can cause your immune system to attack normal organs and tissues in any area of your body and can affect the way they work. These problems can sometimes become severe or life-threatening and can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment or even after your treatment has ended.

Call or see your doctor right away if you develop any symptoms of the following problems or these symptoms get worse:

Lung problems (pneumonitis). Symptoms of pneumonitis may include:

- shortness of breath
- chest pain
- new or worse cough

Intestinal problems (colitis) that can lead to tears or holes in your intestine. Signs and symptoms of colitis may include:

- diarrhea or more bowel movements than usual
- stools that are black, tarry, sticky, or have blood or mucus
- severe stomach-area (abdomen) pain or tenderness

Liver problems (hepatitis). Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include:

- yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes
- nausea or vomiting
- pain on the right side of your stomach area (abdomen)
- dark urine
- feeling less hungry than usual
- bleeding or bruising more easily than normal

Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, adrenal glands, and pancreas). Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include:

- rapid heart beat
- weight loss or weight gain
- increased sweating
- feeling more hungry or thirsty
- urinating more often than usual
- hair loss
- feeling cold
- constipation
- your voice gets deeper
- muscle aches
- dizziness or fainting
- headaches that will not go away or unusual headache

Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure. Signs of kidney problems may include:

- change in the amount or color of your urine

Skin problems. Signs of skin problems may include:

- rash
- blisters, peeling or skin sores
- itching
- painful sores or ulcers in your mouth or in your nose, throat, or genital area

Problems in other organs. Signs and symptoms of these problems may include:

- changes in eyesight
- severe or persistent muscle or joint pains
- severe muscle weakness
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- swollen lymph nodes, rash or tender lumps on skin, cough, shortness of breath, vision changes, or eye pain (sarcoidosis)
- confusion, fever, muscle weakness, balance problems, nausea, vomiting, stiff neck, memory problems, or seizures (encephalitis)
- shortness of breath, irregular heartbeat, feeling tired, or chest pain (myocarditis)

Infusion (IV) reactions that can sometimes be severe and life-threatening. Signs and symptoms of infusion reactions may include:

- chills or shaking
- shortness of breath or wheezing
- itching or rash
- flushing
- dizziness
- fever
- feeling like passing out

Rejection of a transplanted organ. People who have had an organ transplant may have an increased risk of organ transplant rejection. Your doctor should tell you what signs and symptoms you should report and monitor you, depending on the type of organ transplant that you have had.

Complications, including graft-versus-host-disease (GVHD), in people who have received a bone marrow (stem cell) transplant that uses donor stem cells (allogeneic). These complications can be severe and can lead to death. These complications may happen if you underwent transplantation either before or after being treated with KEYTRUDA. Your doctor will monitor you for the following signs and symptoms: skin rash, liver inflammation, stomach-area (abdominal) pain, and diarrhea.

Getting medical treatment right away may help keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your doctor will check you for these problems during treatment with KEYTRUDA. Your doctor may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. Your doctor may also need to delay or completely stop treatment with KEYTRUDA, if you have severe side effects.

What should I tell my doctor before receiving KEYTRUDA?

Before you receive KEYTRUDA, tell your doctor if you:

- have immune system problems such as Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, or lupus
- have received an organ transplant, such as a kidney or liver
- have received or plan to receive a stem cell transplant that uses donor stem cells (allogeneic)
- have lung or breathing problems
- have liver problems
- have any other medical problems
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant
 - KEYTRUDA can harm your unborn baby.
 - Females who are able to become pregnant should use an effective method of birth control during and for at least 4 months after the final dose of KEYTRUDA. Talk to your doctor about birth control methods that you can use during this time.
 - Tell your doctor right away if you become pregnant during treatment with KEYTRUDA.
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed.
 - It is not known if KEYTRUDA passes into your breast milk.
 - Do not breastfeed during treatment with KEYTRUDA and for 4 months after your final dose of KEYTRUDA.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How will I receive KEYTRUDA?

- Your doctor will give you KEYTRUDA into your vein through an intravenous (IV) line over 30 minutes.
- KEYTRUDA is usually given every 3 weeks.
- Your doctor will decide how many treatments you need.
- Your doctor will do blood tests to check you for side effects.
- If you miss any appointments, call your doctor as soon as possible to reschedule your appointment.

What are the possible side effects of KEYTRUDA?

KEYTRUDA can cause serious side effects. See "What is the most important information I should know about KEYTRUDA?"

Common side effects of KEYTRUDA when used alone include: feeling tired, pain, including pain in muscles, bones or joints and stomach-area (abdominal) pain, decreased appetite, itching, diarrhea, nausea, rash, fever, cough, shortness of breath, and constipation.

Common side effects of KEYTRUDA when given with certain chemotherapy medicines include: feeling tired or weak, nausea, constipation, diarrhea, decreased appetite, rash, vomiting, cough, trouble breathing, fever, hair loss, and inflammation of the nerves that may cause pain, weakness, and paralysis in the arms and legs.

In children, feeling tired, vomiting and stomach-area (abdominal) pain, and increased levels of liver enzymes and decreased levels of salt (sodium) in the blood are more common than in adults.

These are not all the possible side effects of KEYTRUDA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about the safe and effective use of KEYTRUDA

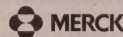
Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. If you would like more information about KEYTRUDA, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or nurse for information about KEYTRUDA that is written for healthcare professionals.

In addition, you can go to www.keytruda.com.

Based on Medication Guide usmg-mk3475-iv-1811r018 as revised November 2018.

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The View

THE INTERNET

HATE CAN'T BE BLOCKED

By Alex Krasodonski-Jones

Like the gunman who killed 50 worshippers at two New Zealand mosques in March, the man who killed one person in a Poway, Calif., synagogue on April 27 announced his intentions on 8chan, an anonymous online message board with a reputation for violent extremism. In the wake of these and other murders, calls to shutter such sites have only grown louder. ▶

TheView Opener

Several Australian ISPs blocked 8chan right after the Christchurch, New Zealand, attack. There have also been suggestions for ways websites like Facebook could stop linking to these spaces, as well as demands for censorship or taking the sites down completely. But while these actions may prevent the spread of a video of a massacre in the short term, they may end up helping the ideologies responsible for these tragedies.

Blocking access to these platforms would validate users' long-running narrative that the mainstream simply can't deal with their edginess. For instance, 8chan has been blamed at various times for the spread of extremist bloodshed, campaigns of harassment and generally being a hotbed of hate. The site hosts content that is illegal in several countries, and many of its users encouraged and delighted in the acts of anti-Semitic or Islamophobic violence—amid chats on gaming, fitness and anime.

8chan's users are well aware of its infamy and association with all the Establishment finds intolerable, from offensive jokes to extremist politics. Much of the content is designed to shock—and laugh at who's offended. The Christchurch and Poway shooters' manifestos, posted to the site before the killings started, are strewn with in-jokes, trolling and red herrings—with the twin aims of winking to the community and misleading unwitting, horrified journalists. It is deliberate provocation: search interest in 8chan spiked after the Christchurch massacre, no doubt because of the many articles published about it afterward.

Trying to knock out fringe sites will also create a never-ending game of whack-a-mole. 8chan itself was set up as a “free-speech-friendly” alternative to 4chan, which itself grew after Reddit banned several controversial sections. And consider ISIS propaganda, which after years of pressure from governments, social-media companies and security services is only marginally harder to find these days and clearly still reaches enough people to inspire harm. Besides, much of the far-right content originating on sites like 8chan is already everywhere, including on

the biggest platforms on the web—YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Google—as well as thousands of other message boards and hosting platforms. 8chan may be among the worst, but it is not alone.

THE MYOPIC FOCUS on eliminating hateful content from the Internet fundamentally misses that it is the community—not the content—that drives radicalization. These sites are filled with their own icons, language and culture. On 8chan, the Christchurch killer has been branded a “saint,” and the Norwegian terrorist who killed 77 people in 2011 has been too. The most important thing these sites offer a would-be gunman is companionship, recognition and, ultimately, an audience to impress. It's the desire for this sense of belonging that deserves far more of our focus.

Only a select few platforms can afford the investment in technology and manpower needed to hide hate online: building algorithms that efficiently spot extremist propaganda; hiring exponentially more moderators to quickly remove content; doing more than the self-congratulatory bean counting of the posts scrubbed from one platform, only to leave the content readily findable elsewhere. For smaller forums like 8chan, doing this would be impossible.

Companies should take down more content faster, and perhaps fewer people will stumble across a video or a piece of extremist material they weren't expecting to see. But in the long term, governments must commit to understanding how and why extremist communities thrive in online spaces as well as the ways in which their users might be brought back into the fold. There's a lot to learn from sites like 8chan: alongside the violent extremism, these boards remain among the most innovative and forceful drivers of cultural change and politics online for the past decade. Trying to smother them may only make their worst elements more appealing.

Krasodomski-Jones is director of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Media at Demos

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Mothering powerful kids

Esther Wojcicki reared two CEOs and a doctor—and is often asked how she did it. In a passage from her new book, *How to Raise Successful People*, she shares advice on what helped her along the way, including:

“The most fundamental respect we can show our children is toward their autonomy and individuality.”

Maintaining a worldview

“Collusion, obstruction of justice, impeachment or not, greedy tax breaks, medical care for all or none, refugees seeking compassion at our borders—as a citizen, I care deeply about all these things,” writes Robert Redford. But he urges perspective: “I also fail to see how any of it will matter without a planet to live on.”

What it took to say ‘I do’ to Joe Biden

Jill Biden explains in an excerpt from her new memoir, *Where the Light Enters*, why it was only after a fifth proposal that she agreed to marry the future Vice President. She writes about one of her concerns, **“If I gave Joe my whole heart, he had the power to break it.”**



Pallbearers carry the casket of the shooting victim from the Chabad of Poway synagogue

QUICK TALK

Melinda Gates explains how she's just like most women

*In her new memoir, **The Moment of Lift: How Empowering Women Changes the World**, the philanthropist examines the challenges facing women around the globe, in the U.S. and in her own home—and offers lessons for fighting back*

Do you worry that it's difficult for women to relate to you on the subject of inequality because you have so much wealth and power? One of the things I try to do in the book is break down the differences between myself and other women. Part of the reason I share some of the most difficult moments I've had in life, including abuse [by a former boyfriend], is to help people understand we are all more similar than we are different. My dream with this book is that people will start to see me totally for who I am and not as whatever label they might put on me—a wealthy woman who is out of touch, or I don't know what.

What was the hardest of your vulnerabilities to share? The abuse I experienced when I was younger. I only started telling family and friends about that a few years ago. I didn't realize it would be another level of difficulty to write it down on the page and word it in a way that I thought was my truth and then to speak that in the world. That was the hardest page for me to write. I wrote it and wrote it and rewrote it until I got it right.

Do you think the man in question will recognize himself? I don't know.

It wasn't until 10 years ago that you started considering yourself a feminist. Why? It took me time to wrestle with that word and to figure out what it means to me. And now I would say I'm an ardent feminist, because to me feminism means that a woman has her full voice and her full decision-making authority in any setting in life: home, community or workplace.

You refer to contraceptives as “the greatest lifesaving, poverty-ending, women-empowered innovation ever created.” Isn't that a bold statement?

We know that from good data. A longitudinal study proved that in [Bangladeshi] villages where women were counseled, had access to contraceptives and chose for themselves which type they wanted, those families over time were healthier and wealthier and the kids were better educated than in the villages that did not have that intervention. In the U.S., women can choose if and when to have children. That is an amazing step toward equality for women all over the planet.

You write about your faith as a Catholic but also that you think the church has helped enhance gen-

“When I'm in the developing world, I have to take those stories in. And I have to let them break my heart.”

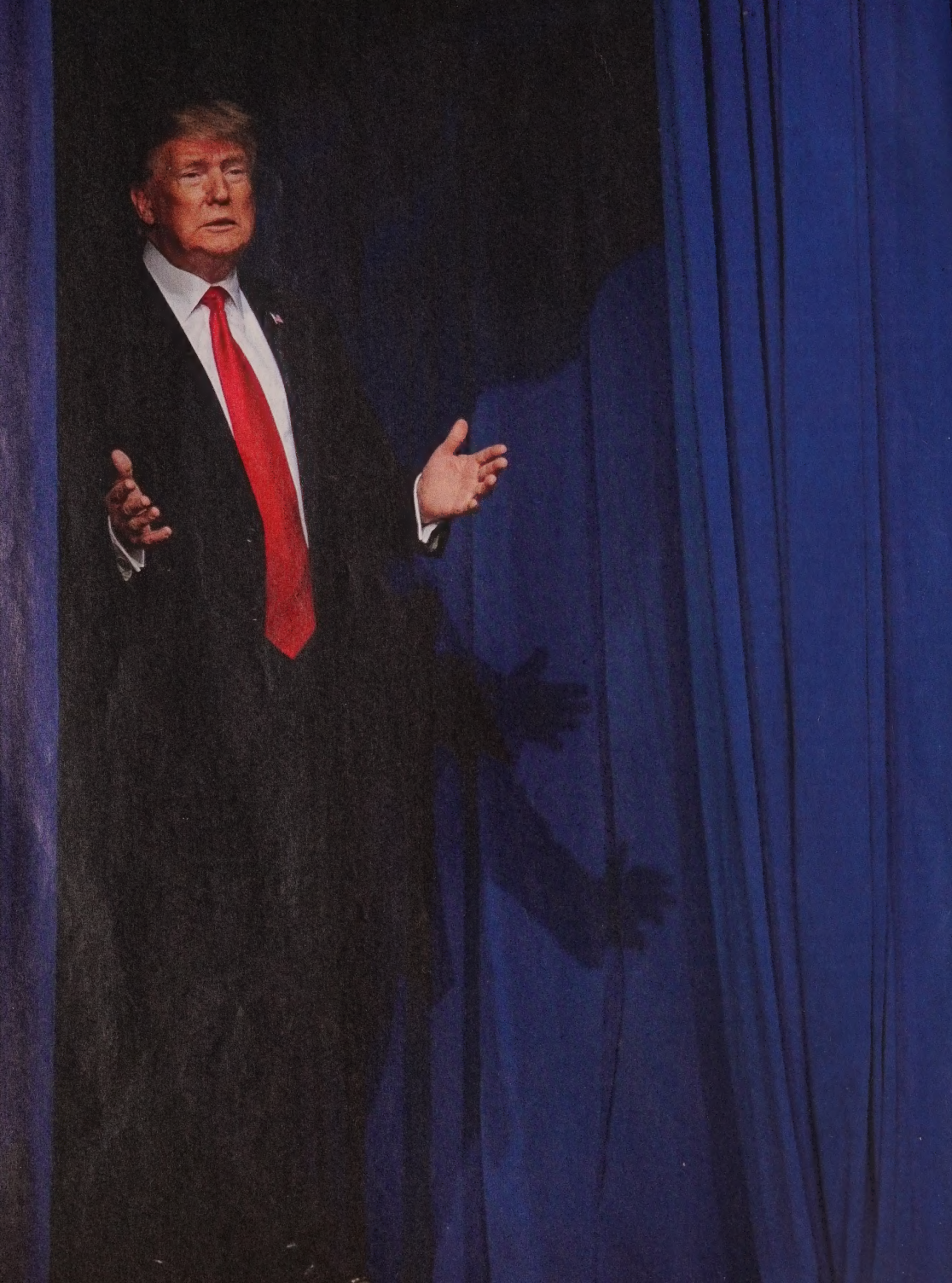


der biases. How so? By not allowing women to be priests and not having women in the top echelons. If our churches are the centers of our community, what are we saying to young girls and boys when they sit in those pews, where a female is not allowed to hold a position of the highest authority?

You describe a woman in northern India begging you to take some of her children. Were you tempted just to rescue her and her kids? Whenever you're in a situation like that, of course you are tempted to go to your wallet. But I know that is not what will ultimately change people's lives at scale. What you have to always make the determination of is, Will that systemically change what's going on for not just that one person but for a hundred people, a thousand, a hundred thousand, a million? When I'm in the developing world, I have to take those stories in. And I have to let them break my heart.

Do you plan to get more politically involved? I will stay involved at the same level Bill and I are involved today, which is that we don't publicly take a position on any political candidate. We don't believe in giving the way some very wealthy philanthropists are doing. The biggest thing I engage in, in the political sphere, is to call on governments to fund foreign aid, because it creates peace and stability around the world.

You write, “Great wealth can be very confusing.” What do you mean? You have so many options: how you spend your time, how you spend your resources. Because they know that you're donating money, people come up and tell you you're fantastic, something you said was fantastic or what you're wearing is the best ever. There can be a distorted point of view. The only way I know to break through that is to be in real relationship with people of all levels of wealth and to be able to have deep, authentic conversations. You have to keep your life as real as you possibly can—which means even though you might be able to pay for somebody else to go get your groceries, you still go and do that for yourself. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE



Nation

THE MUELLER PLAY

President Trump
is using the
special counsel's
report to roll back
post-Watergate
limits on
executive power

BY BRIAN BENNETT
AND TESSA BERENSON



*Trump rallies
supporters in
Green Bay, Wis.,
on April 27, a little
more than a week
after the release of
the Mueller report*

PHOTOGRAPH BY
ERIN SCHAFF

A

AS PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP WALKED OUT OF THE South Portico of the White House on April 26, a reporter asked him if he had ordered the firing of special counsel Robert Mueller nearly two years ago. In the question, Trump apparently heard an echo of President Richard Nixon's 1973 firing of Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox, which came to be known as the Saturday Night Massacre and helped pave the way for Nixon's eventual resignation. "I'm a student of history," Trump said over the thumping blades of the waiting Marine One helicopter. "I see what you get when you fire people, and it's not good."

If Trump is a student of history, though, Mueller's recently released 448-page final report suggests the President has learned a different lesson from that of his predecessors. Rather than defer to the constraints that Nixon's downfall imposed on the presidency, Trump has sought to dismantle them. The special counsel found examples of Trump using the power of the presidency to advance his personal political goals and push for criminal inquiries against his enemies. Witnesses detailed nearly a dozen episodes in which Trump tried to limit the scope of the Mueller investigation. And despite Trump's April 26 denial, his former White House counsel Don McGahn testified that Trump had ordered him to fire Mueller.

Now Trump is using the Mueller report itself to expand the power of the chief executive. Claiming that Mueller exonerated him, Trump and his lawyers are refusing to cooperate with most congressional investigations, even though the special counsel seemed to call for them. More ambitiously, Trump is using the report as a weapon against his 2020 political opponents, raising money off the top-line findings and saying he was the target of an illegal coup, in the hope that the inaccurate claim will inflame his voters and drive them to the ballot box.

Some of these moves are intentional, the result of a strategy developed and implemented by the President's lawyers. Some are instinctive—Trump's zero-sum worldview drives him to amass power. Some, the report shows, happen almost by chance. But whatever the reasons, Trump's effort to politicize the Mueller investigation may have worked. Despite its alarming revelations, polls suggest the President's support has not been dented by the special counsel's report.

Trump's Attorney General, William Barr, has played a critical role in shielding the President from the initial blow. Before the document was released to the public, Barr stated



^
Attorney General William Barr is sworn in to testify about the Mueller report before the Senate on May 1

that Mueller's investigation did not establish that Trump had obstructed justice. Mueller had qualms about Barr's handling of the report, and asked Barr on March 27 to release fuller executive summaries from the document. Barr's wording "did not fully capture the context, nature and substance of this Office's work and conclusions," Mueller wrote to the Attorney General. "There is now public confusion about critical aspects of the results of our investigation."

Barr refused, letting his characterization stand for weeks, during which Trump inaccurately claimed "total exoneration," before the public gained access to Mueller's more nuanced findings. "It was my decision how and when to make it public, not Bob Mueller's," Barr told a Senate committee on May 1.

Some professional historians see a worrying picture emerging. "The Mueller report makes a very strong case that Donald Trump is guilty of obstruction of justice," says Ken Hughes, an expert on



Nixon and abuse of presidential power at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. "That has been an impeachable offense in this country since Nixon's time." Which means the stakes in the coming days are much higher than just the fate of congressional investigations or even the 2020 election. They go directly to the balance of power between Congress and the White House, potentially taking us back to a more powerful, pre-Watergate presidency.

ON ITS FACE, the Mueller report is disturbing. It details a massive Russian operation to interfere in the 2016 presidential election and multiple efforts by the Russians to influence the Trump campaign. Mueller did not establish that Trump or his associates knowingly aided

the Russian effort, but his report paints a damning picture of the Trump camp's openness to Russia's advances. Worse, the report lays out a series of alarming, possibly obstructive actions Trump took to prevent investigators from finding out what happened in 2016.

Trump likely fired former FBI director James Comey because of the Russia investigation, then misrepresented why he fired him, Mueller found. Trump tried to pressure former Attorney General Jeff Sessions to limit the scope of Mueller's inquiry, then tried to fire Sessions. The President ordered McGahn to fire Mueller; McGahn went so far as to pack up his office in preparation to quit rather than interfere with Mueller's work. "The President's efforts to influence the investigation were mostly unsuccessful, but that is largely because the persons who surrounded the President declined to carry out orders or accede to his requests," the special counsel wrote.

Mueller felt constrained in how he could respond to the evidence of Trump's potential obstruction. Department of Justice protocol suggests a sitting President cannot be indicted, and Mueller took great care to explain in his report that he had decided to abide by that position. The best Mueller seemed to be able to muster was an argument that Congress could take up the case itself. "The conclusion that Congress may apply obstruction laws to the President's corrupt exercise of the powers of office accords with our constitutional system of checks and balances and the principle that no person is above the law," the report says.

Trump worked hard to get ahead of any challenge Congress might pose by undermining the Mueller report even before it became public. The President set the bar low with his repeated assertions that there had been "no collusion" with Russia, and attacked the credibility of Mueller's investigators. He refused to sit for an interview with Mueller's lawyers, avoiding the risk of perjuring him-

self and making it harder for Mueller's team to prove corrupt intent. And he misrepresented the investigation's ultimate findings, loudly proclaiming the report had concluded there was "no obstruction." So when Barr declared on April 18 that Mueller had found "no evidence" of "collusion" between Trump and Russia and cleared Trump of obstruction, the President claimed vindication.

A White House official dismisses Mueller's evidence of obstruction as "thought crimes," since Trump's aides didn't follow through with his orders and Mueller did not find any coordination with Russia in the first place. "In Watergate, there was actually a crime to obstruct," the official says. White House staff view the report's lengthy section on obstruction as a partisan "swipe" at the President, according to another official. Mueller's team, these officials say, stepped out of bounds when it wrote nearly 200 pages on bad behavior by Trump without charging him with a crime.

Some Democrats cited the document as cause to launch impeachment proceedings. But at the moment, Congress looks no more likely than Mueller to level charges. Trump and his surrogates have taken a hard line with Congress over compliance with their expanding investigations. "We're fighting all the subpoenas," Trump said on April 24. In doing so, he is reviving a fight over presidential power from the Watergate era. In 1974, the Supreme Court ordered President Nixon to comply with a subpoena in a ruling against a near inviolable claim of Executive privilege. "We've never been back to that grand claim, until effectively now," says John Q. Barrett, a law professor at St. John's University.

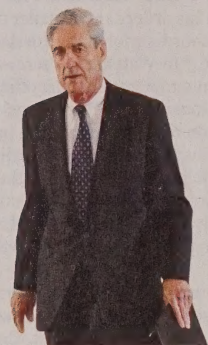
Trump's lawyers are open to a less absolute approach, White House officials say. And the President is keeping other options at the ready too. Trump's personal lawyers spent months preparing a rebuttal to the report, then never released it. The President and his allies "do not need it yet," says Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani. For now, Giuliani says, the report's charges can be "handled one at a time." But they're still prepared to release the rebuttal if they deem it necessary.

The report lays out a series of alarming, possibly obstructive actions Trump took to prevent investigators from finding out what happened in 2016

TRUMPLAND'S RUSSIAN CONNECTIONS

Special counsel **Robert Mueller**'s report documents the Trump 2016 presidential campaign's contacts with Kremlin-linked Russians. Mueller did not find that Trump coordinated with Russian interference in the 2016 election, but he did find Trump's campaign was open to Moscow's help and influence. Here's what Mueller's report and other court documents say.

—Abigail Abrams



TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW

Russian-born business associate Felix Sater pushed plans for a Trump Tower in Moscow, which Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen worked on at Trump's behest through at least June 2016, shortly before Trump secured the Republican nomination.

TRUMP TOWER NEW YORK

That same month, Russians offered material that could "incriminate" Trump's opponent, Hillary Clinton. Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner and campaign chairman Paul Manafort met with a Kremlin-connected lawyer at Trump Tower in New York.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS

The young Trump adviser spoke with Russians about a meeting between Team Trump and Russian leadership. The Russians also told Papadopoulos they had "dirt" on Clinton.

PAUL MANAFORT Trump's campaign chairman gave campaign polling data to Konstantin Kilimnik, a business associate the U.S. believes has ties to Russian intelligence.

HACKING EMAILS Hours after Trump publicly called for Russia to find Clinton's missing emails, Russian intelligence agents targeted her personal office email accounts.

WIKILEAKS The group was working with Russian hackers and reached out to Trump Jr. to suggest he and his father support it on Twitter.

ROGER STONE The longtime Trump confidant told the campaign he could be a pipeline to WikiLeaks. An indictment against Stone said the campaign sought information from him about the hacked emails.

KISLYAK MEETINGS

Kushner, Jeff Sessions, other aides and Trump himself met with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak during the campaign.

MICHAEL FLYNN Trump's first National Security Adviser talked with Kislyak about Russian sanctions during the presidential transition.

TRAVEL INVITATION Sater told Cohen that Putin's press secretary wanted to meet Cohen in Russia. Cohen agreed to go, then called off the trip in June 2016.

RUSSIAN FRIENDS

Kremlin-connected Russian developer Aras Agalarov and his son Emin contacted Trump multiple times, inviting him to visit Russia and expressing "great interest" in his campaign.

Congressional Republicans seem buoyed by signs that Trump is weathering Mueller's findings. South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, who chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee, said the only investigations he will entertain would look into Justice Department overreach in investigating Trump. The Senate GOP is ready to offset any moves by the Democratic-led House to go after Trump.

The defense of the President is not just limited to vocal allies. North Carolina Senator Thom Tillis, a vulnerable Republican facing re-election next year, had frequently introduced bipartisan legislation to protect Mueller during his probe. Now he says he fully supports the President's pushing back against congressional Democrats. "They're trying to re-prosecute something that I helped defend for two years," Tillis says. Even Republican Senator Mitt Romney, who criticized Trump's handling of the Mueller investigation after reading the report, is not pressing for investigations in the Senate or impeachment proceedings. "I

think it's a political matter. And I think the Democrats would be wise to focus on the election," Romney told reporters on April 29.

As the GOP circles the wagons, the Democrats are frustrated by their opponents and divided on how to move forward. Speaker Nancy Pelosi says she's hesitant to proceed with impeachment unless there's some measure of bipartisan support. "The President of the United States engaged in behavior that was unethical, unscrupulous and beneath the dignity of the office that he holds," Pelosi said at the TIME 100 Summit on April 23. "What's surprising about it is that the Republicans seem to have an unlimited appetite for that kind of behavior. Instead of being ashamed of what that report said, they gave their blessing once again to the President."

IF CONGRESS DOESN'T ACT, there remains another check on the President's power: the voters. Unlike the Watergate and Iran-contra scandals, which unfolded in the second terms of Presidents Nixon and Ronald Reagan, the Mueller probe concluded ahead of Trump's attempt to win re-election. Which means the American electorate will have the chance to register their opinion on Trump's behavior at the polls in 2020. It's not clear, however, that the Mueller report has soured the public's view of the President. In a Washington Post/ABC News poll released April 26, 58% of respondents said the report doesn't change their opinion of the Trump Administration and 53% think the report "did not clear Trump of all wrongdoing." Some 36% said the report made them more likely to oppose the President

The President and his top campaign staff say they plan to use the Mueller report as a cudgel against Democrats in 2020

PRESIDENTS, OBSTRUCTION AND THE LAW

Mueller's report outlines conduct by President **Donald Trump** that could constitute obstruction of justice. Mueller declined to say whether Trump's behavior was criminal but said Congress could determine that. Lawmakers based impeachment charges against Presidents Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton on evidence of obstruction of justice. Here's how the three compare.

—Mahita Gajanan



TRUMP

FIRING THE FBI DIRECTOR

In a one-on-one meeting in the Oval Office, Trump asked then FBI Director James Comey to drop an investigation into former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn. Later, at a private dinner, Trump asked Comey for loyalty. He ultimately fired Comey amid the FBI's investigation into Russian election meddling.

LIMITING THE MUELLER PROBE

After Mueller took over the probe, Trump asked his former campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, to tell then Attorney General Jeff Sessions to curtail the special counsel's investigation. The message was never delivered to Sessions. Trump also called on Sessions to resign but then backed down.

TARGETING THE SPECIAL COUNSEL

Trump twice called White House counsel Don McGahn at home, directing him to fire Mueller, a request that McGahn did not comply with. Trump later asked McGahn to deny reports about the requests and create a paper trail to back up the denial.

NIXON

IMPEDING THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

Nixon tried to get the CIA to stop the FBI from investigating the Watergate break-in. The so-called smoking gun all but ended his presidency.

Nixon fired Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox as part of the so-called Saturday Night Massacre.

Lawmakers probed whether the erasure of 18½ minutes of the President's recorded conversations about Watergate with chief of staff H.R. Haldeman was an attempt to alter or destroy evidence.

CLINTON

IMPEDING THE PAULA JONES LAWSUIT

Clinton lied to many of his aides about the nature of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, knowing they might be called before a grand jury.

Clinton attempted to hide his affair with Lewinsky by suggesting she hide gifts he had given her, and encouraging her to file a false affidavit and give false testimony if she was called as a witness. Lawmakers probed whether these actions were attempts to thwart the investigation into his behavior.

in 2020. Mueller spent two years on his investigation and wrote more than 400 pages on his findings. But the ultimate arbiters of Trump's behavior—the voters—appear largely unmoved by his conclusions.

Which means Mueller's report may end up helping Trump expand his power rather than curtailing it. The President and his top campaign staff say they plan to use the Mueller report as a cudgel against Democrats in 2020. The report "creates a massive credibility problem for the left, one that is fair to say we will be using," says Trump's 2020 national press secretary Kayleigh McEnany, sitting high above the Potomac River in the campaign's spacious Virginia headquarters. The Trump campaign sent out a fundraising text when the Mueller report came out, raising more than \$1 million in one day. "Sorry Trump haters. The biggest waste of money witch hunt in history is finally over," the website announcing the fundraising haul reads. "The attacks and lies will keep coming heading into 2020. That's why we need to fight back bigger

and stronger than ever before."

Trump isn't the first President to look for ways to expand Executive power. After the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, George W. Bush clawed back some of the wartime authorities Congress had stripped from the presidency following the politically motivated Vietnam War escalations. Barack Obama, facing an entrenched Republican Congress, embraced the use of regulations and Executive Orders to expand health care and immigration protections.

But Trump's moves are the most self-serving since Nixon, says Timothy Naftali, a former director of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. And the 45th President has learned a noteworthy lesson from the 37th. Nixon famously worked the levers of power, pushing for IRS audits, wiretapping and cutting off federal funds to punish political enemies. But for the most part, he made these moves in secret. Trump is brashly pulling those levers in public. He has called for the investigation of career FBI agents, demanded that the Federal Reserve chair-

man keep interest rates low and promised to release people caught entering the U.S. illegally into cities he sees as too lax in their treatment of immigrants. Where the revelation of Nixon's behavior hurt him, Trump's open expansion of power seems to help.

"Our culture has forgotten why these norms were established in the first place," says Naftali. "We will see if Donald Trump will be penalized in 2020 for trying to restore some of the Nixonian spirit to the Executive Branch."

Trump is willing to have that fight. On April 25, he railed against the Mueller investigation to Fox News host Sean Hannity. "This was an overthrow, and it's a disgraceful thing," the President said. "It's far bigger than Watergate. I think it's possibly the biggest scandal in political history in this country." For Trump's critics, however, the President is not the victim of a Nixon-era abuse of power. He's the man resurrecting the tradition. —With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON and PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON

The New Guy

*How
Pete Buttigieg
became a
surprise
contender in
the 2020
Democratic
primary*

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/SOUTH BEND





As

AS PETE BUTTIGIEG ADDRESSED supporters off a back porch in Marshalltown, Iowa, the Devil was whispering his name. “Pete,” the Devil hissed into a microphone. “You’re sooo smart, Pete.”

Buttigieg ignored the heckler, plowing forward with his stump speech about American decency as his husband Chasten looked on. “Pete,” the Devil whispered. “I want the heartland, Pete.”

The man in the devil costume was Randall Terry, an antiabortion activist. He had traveled to Iowa to torment the 37-year-old mayor of South Bend, Ind., the early breakout star of the 2020 Democratic presidential primary. “There’s never been a poster boy for homosexuals” before, Terry says. “There’s never been a homosexual that you’d go, ‘Wow, I’d be proud of him.’ He’s

the guy. That’s why he’s such a threat.”

Four years after the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed his right to marry, Buttigieg has become the first openly gay person to make a serious bid for the presidency. And Terry is hardly the only right-winger worried about the rise of “Mayor Pete.” Buttigieg’s saying that “God doesn’t have a political party” prompted evangelical leader Franklin Graham to tweet that being gay is “something to be repentant of, not something to be flaunted, praised or politicized.” Concerned by the campaign’s rise, right-wing provocateur Jacob Wohl was recently caught trying to fabricate sexual-assault allegations against Buttigieg to slow him down.

But to some Americans, Buttigieg may just be the man to vanquish America’s demons. In a field of more than 20 candidates—including six Senators, four Congressmen, two governors and a former Vice President—Buttigieg (pronounced *Boot-edge-edge*) has vaulted from near total obscurity toward the front of the Democratic pack, running ahead of or even with more established

candidates and behind only Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders.

Buttigieg is a gay Episcopalian veteran in a party torn between identity politics and heartland appeals. He’s also a fresh face in a year when millennials are poised to become the largest eligible voting bloc. Many Democrats are hungry for generational change, and the two front runners are more than twice his age.

But Buttigieg’s greatest political asset may be his ear for languages. He speaks eight, including Norwegian and Arabic, but he’s particularly fluent in the dialect of the neglected industrial Midwest. Buttigieg is a master of redefinition, a translator for a party that has found it increasingly difficult to speak to the voters who elected President Donald Trump. The son of an English professor and a scholar of linguistics, he roots his campaign in an effort to reframe progressive ideas in conservative language. “If the substance of your ideas is progressive but there’s mistrust about them among conservatives, you have three choices,” Buttigieg tells TIME, sitting on his living-room couch



Supporters at Buttigieg's rainy April 14 presidential campaign announcement in South Bend

in South Bend. "One is to just change your ideas and make them more conservative. The second is to sort of be sneaky and try to make it seem like your ideas are more conservative than they are. And the third, the approach that I favor, is to stick to your ideas, but explain why conservatives shouldn't be afraid of them."

His platform is "Freedom, Security and Democracy," which wouldn't sound out of place coming from a Bush-era Republican yet actually harks back to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But in order to maintain his momentum, Buttigieg will have to do more to flesh out those ideas. Unlike many of his opponents, he hasn't posted any detailed policy proposals on his website. He'll also have to convince Democratic voters that his experience running South Bend (pop. 102,245) is adequate preparation for running the world's most powerful country. And he'll have to make inroads with black and Hispanic voters who have so far appeared unimpressed with his campaign.

Buttigieg likes to say he has more government experience than Trump, and more military experience than any

President in 25 years. And Trump's victory in 2016 proved that many Americans were willing to elect a President without a traditional Washington résumé. But some voters long for stability after three years of chaos, and it's not clear whether the Trump presidency has made it easier or harder for outsiders.

The same assets that have propelled Buttigieg so far could ultimately thwart his rise. His youth is appealing to many voters, but it also means he's green. The idea of electing the first gay President thrills liberals, but it also rallies opponents. As a white man, Buttigieg may appeal to more traditional voters, yet women and voters of color are the heart of the Democratic coalition. He's running as a healer, not a fighter, at a moment when the party seems to be in a fighting mood. "As a woman of color, it's very difficult for me to hear 'We can unite across our

differences,'" says Democratic operative Jess Morales Rocketto. "On one side you have people who want to live in a white-supremacist country, and on the other side you have people dying at the hands of white supremacists."

In many ways, Buttigieg is Trump's polar opposite: younger, dorkier, shorter, calmer and married to a man. His success may depend on whether Democrats want a fighter to match Trump, or whether Americans want to "change the channel," as Buttigieg puts it. "People already have a leader who screams and yells," he says. "How do you think that's working out for us?"

ON A SUNNY MONDAY MORNING, Buttigieg is musing about redeeming American credibility abroad, sipping from his coffee mug emblazoned with JFK's face, when his husband plops onto the living-room couch, picks up the blanket next to him and throws it on the floor in mock disgust. "Do we have to have this hideous blanket?" he said. The blanket is full of dog hair. "Can we put our nice blanket there?"

The hair comes from Truman, their hound mix, and Buddy, their tubby rescue puppy. When I first met Buttigieg in 2017, he told me he named Truman after a famous saying often attributed to the 33rd President: "If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog."

But you live in South Bend, I said. When are you planning on moving to Washington? He didn't reply.

The house looks like it's occupied by moderately tidy people who travel a lot. Coats are piled on the bannister, and old sneakers and a pair of Crocs are lined up next to the kitchen door. A tiny photo of Pete and Chasten with Cher peeks out from behind wedding save-the-dates posted on the fridge. The kitchen walls are a too-bright yellow. The mayor painted them himself, which he says was a mistake.

Buttigieg met Chasten Glezman, then a Chicago grad student, on the dating app Hinge in 2015. They talked over FaceTime for a few weeks before Chasten drove to South Bend for their first real date, at an Irish bar famous for its Scotch eggs. Less than three years later, Pete proposed in gate B5 of Chicago's O'Hare airport, the exact spot where Chasten had first noticed his dating profile.

Their marriage is at once banal and extraordinary, infused with the exuberant contentment of two people who once thought they would always be alone. Chasten handles the dogs, the shopping, the cooking. Pete does the dishes, laundry and garbage. Chasten hates taking the bin out to the curb. Pete hates the way Chasten folds T-shirts. Chasten gets grumpy when they go too long without food, and Pete doesn't get it. "You're like, 'Oh, here, I packed a bag of almonds and a thing of beef jerky,'" Chasten says. "I hate nuts, and he eats nuts all the time."

"High in protein, good for you," Pete counters.

"See!" Chasten says. "I want a meal, and he's like, 'We'll just have a handful of nuts.'" Also, he tells his husband, "You do chew really loudly."

Both men grew up closeted in conservative Midwestern communities. "Being gay was not culturally acceptable where I grew up, mostly for a lack of understanding," Chasten says. "And so my family and I were just at a crossroads, and we didn't really know how to talk to one another." When he came out after his senior year

MEET PETE

The 37-year-old mayor is running on a message of generational change

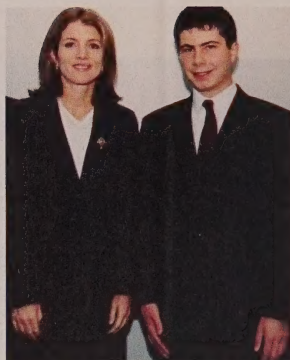


c. 2000
Buttigieg playing Nintendo with his late father Joseph at home in South Bend

of high school, tensions at home forced him to spend months crashing on friends' couches and sleeping in his car. His parents ultimately changed their minds, welcomed him back home and now fully support their son and his marriage.

Pete took a lot longer to come to terms with himself. As a child, "he was an observer," recalls his mother Anne Montgomery. "Each time he went to a new school, he'd sit there and watch who was doing what and why." In high school, he was elected senior class president and played Theseus in a production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the voice of sanity and order in a world gone mad. He won the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library's Profiles in Courage contest for an admiring essay about Bernie Sanders—20 years before challenging the Vermont Senator for the Democratic nomination.

'People already have a leader who screams and yells,' Buttigieg says. 'How do you think that's working out for us?'



2000
Buttigieg with Caroline Kennedy after his high school essay on Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders won the JFK Profiles in Courage contest



Alone with the knowledge that he was, as he put it, "really strongly attracted to other young men," he threw himself into his studies, teaching himself languages and musical instruments and reading James Joyce. One Harvard roommate recalled he had learned circular breathing in order to hold a note on the didgeridoo. He lived with a handful of guys in a suite nicknamed the Château because of its fancy moldings and exposed brick walls. He was the roommate who would sip whiskey instead of chugging beer, and insist on a real Christmas tree in the dorm room. He dated women occasionally but never joined his roommates' discussions of their sex lives.

After graduation, Buttigieg went to Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship, then did a brief stint at the consulting firm McKinsey, analyzing grocery-store pricing. He moved back to Indiana and joined the U.S. Navy Reserve in 2009, before the repeal of "Don't ask, don't tell." He remembers his fellow officers tossing the word gay around as an insult, the way middle schoolers once did.

In 2010, at the age of 28, he ran his first political campaign, for Indiana state treasurer, and got crushed, losing by 27 points. But the following year, Buttigieg ran for mayor of South Bend and won. He was professionally ascendant but personally adrift: friends were starting to meet serious girlfriends, get married, have



2007

After Harvard, he went to Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship



2014

Lieutenant Buttigieg with his parents Joseph and Anne when he returned to South Bend after six months in Afghanistan



2015

Mayor Buttigieg playing piano with Ben Folds and the South Bend Symphony Orchestra



2018

Pete Buttigieg and Chasten Glezman on their wedding day; they met shortly after Buttigieg came out in 2015

kids, and Pete's personal life amounted to watching *The Simpsons* alone with a beer after work. He was deployed to Afghanistan in 2014, halfway through his first term as mayor. When he came back six months later, he says, he realized that if he had died overseas, he would have never known what it was like to be in love.

In 2015, just as Buttigieg was beginning to come out privately to friends and family members, Indiana's then Governor Mike Pence signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which allowed local businesses to discriminate against LGBTQ people. Later that year, at the height of his re-election campaign, Buttigieg wrote an op-ed in the South Bend *Tribune* to announce he was gay. It was more of a personal calculation than a political one, he says: given his job, he couldn't openly date until his constituents knew the truth. He feared it would cost him re-election, but he won with 80% of the vote.

It was a sign of how rapidly public opinion on LGBTQ issues has changed. In 1996, only 27% of Americans supported same-sex marriage; today 67% do, including 44% of Republicans. Some of Buttigieg's fellow officers who had used gay as an epithet in his presence reached out to express their support. "I bet some of them still go back and tell gay jokes because that's their habit, you know?" he says. "Bad habits and bad instincts is not

the same as people being bad people."

All this informs his belief that it's still possible to reach across America's political divide. "We've got to get away from this kill-switch mentality that we see on Twitter," he says. He has seen once disapproving parents dance at their gay son's wedding and homophobic military officers take back their words, and so he believes in the power of redemption and forgiveness. "This idea that we just sort people into baskets of good and evil ignores the central fact of human existence, which is that each of us is a basket of good and evil," he says. "The job of politics is to summon the good and beat back the evil."

FOR THE MAYOR of a place like South Bend, politics gets a little more complicated. When Buttigieg was elected in 2011, his mandate was to turn around a dying city. South Bend had been in decline since 1963, when the Studebaker auto company left, taking thousands of jobs with it. Buttigieg got to work. He made downtown more walkable, improved infrastructure for filling potholes and plowing snow, and brought new companies to South Bend through partnerships with Notre Dame. "Mayors in the past had kind of a can't-do attitude," says veteran South Bend *Tribune* columnist Jack Colwell. "When people came to talk to Pete, he'd

say, 'How can we help you get this done?'"

In interviews with local residents, nearly all said Buttigieg had done a generally good job as mayor, though some said he had blind spots on issues affecting black and Hispanic residents. Early in his tenure, Buttigieg fired a popular black police chief who was under FBI investigation for wiretapping white officers who had been suspected of using racist language. And while most residents say the city improved under his leadership, the gains have not been evenly distributed. South Bend still has a persistent racial wealth gap: black households earn roughly half of what white households make, and the black poverty rate is almost twice the national average, according to a 2017 Prosperity Now report commissioned by Buttigieg's office. Dedrick Asante-Muhammad, the researcher who compiled the report, said Buttigieg was the first mayor of any city to ask him to do this. "He didn't solve racial economic inequality," says Asante-Muhammad, "but what city has?"

One of Buttigieg's main goals was to improve the city's housing stock. South Bend had a glut of abandoned homes left over from the Studebaker heyday, and Buttigieg announced a plan to either tear down or fix up 1,000 in 1,000 days. Almost immediately, black residents expressed concern. Most of the vacant homes were

in black and Hispanic neighborhoods on the town's West Side. While no families reported being evicted because of the policy, some locals had bought or inherited vacant homes intending to fix them up, then faced heavy code-enforcement fines or even lost the properties they had purchased. Regina Williams-Preston, a teacher whose family has lived on South Bend's West Side for years, had purchased several abandoned homes in order to renovate them later, but says she lost them to Buttigieg's policy after her husband got sick and they couldn't make the repairs.

In the wake of Buttigieg's campaign boom, Williams-Preston has been escorting national reporters around South Bend, pointing out the areas where his housing policy failed. "He was young and bright and had a lot of really good ideas," she says, driving through neighborhoods with rundown houses next to overgrown lots. "But he didn't have the lived experience, the ability to really connect with real people who have real issues and real problems that life hasn't dealt the best hand."

Other black leaders in South Bend say Buttigieg listened to the concerns of the community and adjusted when he was wrong. "I trust him," says Stacey Odom, founder of a local organization that helps families on the West Side repair their homes. "I asked him for five different things, and he gave them all to me." Buttigieg created an office of Engagement and Economic Empowerment to help address the wealth gap, and issued an executive order on diversity and inclusion in response to local demands, Williams-Preston said. When local leaders asked for \$3.5 million to renovate the Charles Black community center, Buttigieg came up with \$4.5 million, according to Cynthia Taylor, the center's director. "You're gonna have to invite him in, you're gonna have to sit him down, you're gonna have to show him the issue," she says. "Because he definitely will listen."

Williams-Preston, who's now running to replace Buttigieg as mayor, says he sometimes seemed insufficiently angry about the inequities in South Bend. She's looking for a President who has "a deep passion for justice, a deep drive for equality." She voted for Sanders in 2016 and describes herself as a "Berniecrat." But as she drives her minivan around the West Side, pointing out grassy areas where

vacant houses once stood, she's wearing a PETE button on her jacket.

Buttigieg may be a loyal son of South Bend, but he keeps angling for a job transfer out of town. In 2017 he ran for chair of the Democratic National Committee. After he lost, he asked his old friend Mike Schmuhl to move back to South Bend to help him run his political-action committee. He never actually told him he was planning to run for President. "It was unspoken," Schmuhl says.

THERE ARE TWO MAIN TYPES of presidential candidates: those who run on policy and those who run on personality. Buttigieg says he's a "policy guy," but he's definitely a personality guy. His campaign is more about who he is (young, gay, Midwestern, technocratic) and what he represents (social progress, generational change, an olive branch to "flyover country") than what he'll do if he's President.

So far Buttigieg has embraced a few big ideas, such as abolishing the Electoral College and expanding the Supreme Court. (Both would require an improbable constitutional amendment.) But when it comes to the policy issues dominating the primary so far, he has staked out only general positions. On health care, he favors "Medicare for all who want it." He supports an "intergenerational alliance" to fight climate change and calls the Green New Deal "the right beginning." He said he wants to "do some math" around Senator Elizabeth Warren's plan to make college free and forgive student debt. Warren, for her part, has 11 policy proposals on her website. Buttigieg has zero.

"Every good policy that I've developed in my administration happened not because I cooked it up on the campaign, kept the promise intact and then delivered it," he says, "but because I stated a priority in one of my campaigns,

Buttigieg's campaign is more about who he is and what he represents than what he'll do if he's President

interacted with my legislative body and my community, and developed something that really served people well."

Does this mean that he thinks policy is less important than narrative? "Maybe I'm saying the narrative is policy," he responds, in a typical attempt at reframing. "Narrative is how you get people to embrace the policies you're putting forward." His campaign plans to release more detailed policies this week.

"Running a campaign based on narrative has long been a privilege reserved for men. And Buttigieg's maleness and whiteness has undoubtedly benefited him, even as women and people of color become increasingly central to the Democrats' 2020 coalition. He knows this and acknowledges that "it's hard for me to even be able to see some of the ways in which whiteness or maleness may have made my life go differently," adding that it has likely affected the way he's been covered by the national media.

At the same time, Buttigieg's sexuality has imbued his campaign with a sense of historical promise. After the valedictorian at Brigham Young University, a conservative Mormon school, came out as gay in his commencement speech in April, he cited Buttigieg as his inspiration. ("I know that kid is going to make it easier for somebody else," Buttigieg told BuzzFeed News.) Buttigieg's campaign has also gotten a boost from a network of wealthy LGBT donors.

The millennial mayor's call for generational change could also prove to be a powerful one. Even as young voters stay enamored with Sanders, older voters seem attracted to Buttigieg's youth: according to an April 29 Morning Consult survey, his highest polling numbers come from baby boomers. "I like the idea of a millennial," says Alice Mayer, 62, who voted for Sanders in 2016, as she waited for Buttigieg's speech in South Bend. "He's looking at the future, while Bernie's been there, done that."

Buttigieg has spent years thinking about how Democrats can reclaim the language of patriotism from Republicans. "The real challenge for the Democratic Party, and its presidential candidates in particular," he wrote in a 2003 column in the *Harvard Crimson*, "is to figure out how to reverse the Right's stranglehold on our political vocabulary." Soon after, he wrote another column urging Democrats



Chasten and Pete Buttigieg on the front steps of their South Bend home

to reclaim words like *compassion, strength and morality*, arguing that “establishing a new vocabulary is not the point; we need to take the old vocabulary and make it make sense again.” More than any health care plan or climate-change policy, Buttigieg wants to change how Democrats talk. “The landscape can be moved,” he says. “But to move it, I don’t think you just run in and beat people over the head with your way of talking about your ideas the way you always have.”

WHEN BUTTIGIEG ANNOUNCED his exploratory committee in January, in a drab conference room at a Washington Hyatt, his staff was mostly just Schmuhl, his high school buddy turned campaign manager, and Lis Smith, a New York operative who helped Buttigieg run his long-shot campaign for DNC chair. Three months later, the staff has swelled to nearly 50 as

Buttigieg bounces between rallies in Iowa and New Hampshire, fundraisers with bundlers and TV appearances everywhere.

Buttigieg has been ubiquitous by design. The campaign’s goal is to “break down the wall that exists between presidential candidates and the media, and therefore the public,” Smith says. The Buttigieg campaign has no digital department, according to Schmuhl, because it weaves digital media into everything it does. Instead, the campaign has an “experience team,” which focuses on everything from events to content. The campaign shared its logos and designs in catchy Instagrammable images, complete with a color palette so that fans can spread the Buttigieg brand

on social media. It’s also rethinking the value of paid television advertisements, reasoning that most millennials watch TV through streaming services on their computers and phones.

Despite these new strategies, some of the old truths still hold. It remains almost impossible to win the Democratic nomination without significant support from black voters, and the Morning Consult poll found negligible black support for Buttigieg. The mayor is working on his outreach, eating lunch with the Rev. Al Sharpton at the famous Harlem soul-food joint Sylvia’s and scheduling a swing through South Carolina for early May. But winning voters of color may be difficult for a white guy running against two black Senators, Kamala Harris and Cory Booker, as well as Joe Biden, who served as Barack Obama’s running mate and has long-standing relationships in black communities.

In a primary divided between candidates who want to fight Trump and candidates who talk about uniting the country, Buttigieg is in the latter camp. That puts him out of step with the party’s activist base, who clearly want a fighter. Warren, for example, used the word *fight* 25 times in her announcement speech; Buttigieg didn’t mention it once. His husband says he’s never heard him raise his voice in anger. “We’ve almost fetishized fighting,” Buttigieg explains, sitting in his living room between an antique British musket and an old Soviet spying device, both relics of old and painful wars. “There is a point where you become so absorbed in fighting that you begin to lose track of winning.”

In the end, Buttigieg’s biggest gamble is his bet that voters are sick of a divided America and hungry for reconciliation. He believes independents and moderate conservatives could get behind a happily married Christian veteran. And he may be right. “Pete has a way of rallying people and getting them to come along with him,” says Jake Teshka, former executive director of the St. Joseph County GOP and the only Republican on the South Bend city council. “That’s what makes him dangerous as a candidate for the rest of the Democratic field. I can’t sit here and tell you that if he makes it through and he’s on the ballot in 2020 that I would vote for Pete. But I also can’t tell you that I won’t.”

*The informal
settlement of Imizamo
Yethu overlooks Hout
Bay, a picturesque
suburb of Cape Town*





World **SOUTH AFRICA'S DIVIDING LINE**

Twenty-five years after Nelson Mandela was first elected, the country remains two unequal nations

BY ARYN BAKER/CAPE TOWN

EVEN FOR THE WESTERN CAPE, A PROVINCE KNOWN for its stunning vistas, the view from the settlement of Imizamo Yethu is extraordinary. A panorama of rolling hills, sand dunes and stone cliffs unfurls to the sea. To one side is a fishing village that has gentrified into quaint cafés and handicraft shops; on the other are stately mansions, horse paddocks and the expansive campus of a prestigious private school.

The view of Imizamo Yethu from the suburb below, Hout Bay, is also extraordinary, if for different reasons. This ramshackle settlement clinging to a rock escarpment is made up of small brick houses, corrugated-aluminum shacks and lean-tos constructed from old shipping pallets. The few paved roads intersect with a network of mud paths that reek of raw sewage in the summer heat, and flood under winter rains. More than 6,000 black families live in this area, which is about the size of a suburban

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH NANKIN FOR TIME



▲
Bantry Bay,
another
affluent
suburb of
Cape Town,
has some
of the most
expensive
real estate in
Africa

American shopping mall. Hout Bay, which is about 50 times larger and mostly white, has roughly the same number of residents. Violence in Imizamo Yethu is rife; in April, five people were killed in a shoot-out between rival transport cartels that run the minibus networks linking the settlement to central Cape Town, 12 miles away.

A few days after the minibus shootings, Kenny Tokwe, a community organizer who has been living in Imizamo Yethu for nearly 30 years, looks down on Hout Bay's idyllic expanse. It's been 25 years since South Africa's first multiracial democratic elections, held on April 27, 1994, were supposed to bring an end to the institutionalized racial segregation of the apartheid regime. But little has changed, says Tokwe. "South Africa is still a country of two nations: the rich whites"—he points down the hill—"and the poor blacks." With a chuckle, he points at himself, an educated black man who spent his youth campaigning for equal rights for South African blacks only to find himself, at 58, fighting for them to have basic standards of living.

On May 8, South Africans are due to vote in the sixth national elections since the fall of apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC), the liberation party once led by Nelson Mandela that has ruled South Africa since 1994, is expected to return to power. But a quarter-century after Mandela called for the state to be fundamentally reshaped to address

the inequalities of apartheid, the world's most egregious racial divide has turned into its most extreme economic disparity. The World Bank last year deemed South Africa the world's most unequal society, estimating that the top 10% owned 70% of the nation's assets in 2015. And the split is still largely along racial lines; the bottom 60%, largely comprising blacks—which, for the purposes of this story, includes mixed-race people and Asians descended from an era of slavery and colonial rule—controls 7% of the country's net wealth. Half the population lives on less than \$5 a day.

For the past several decades, inequality has been on the rise in developed and developing countries alike. But in an age of widening divides between rich and poor, South Africa stands out because of its squandered hopes. Mandela's rainbow nation was supposed to show the world how a new, equitable society could be built out of the ashes of repression and racism. But by some measures, inequality in the country today is worse than it was under apartheid.

Though a new black middle class is slowly developing, and a small black elite has accrued massive wealth, few black South Africans have seen substantial change in their material lives. Meanwhile, today's white minority, some 9% of the population, lives off the benefits accumulated under apartheid's unequal policies. Their relative wealth keeps them insulated from government failures triggered by the



economics of segregation. “Democracy gave us nothing,” complains Wendy Gqirana, a 36-year-old unemployed chef who has spent her entire life sharing a shipping container with her extended family in the Cape Town township of Langa. “They told us in ’94 that the blacks would be in control and things would be better. All we see now is corruption among the black leaders, and whites are still in control of the economy.”

THE SOURCE of the inequality that plagues South Africa is multifaceted. Unemployment, poor education programs and a collapsing public health system all play a role. But the largest dividing line is land, where the legacy of apartheid meets the failures and broken promises of the current government. It’s manifested most plainly in the lack of affordable housing, particularly in urban areas. The number of decaying slums like Imizamo Yethu has gone from 300 in 1994 to 2,700 today.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in Cape Town, where 60% of the population, almost all black, lives in townships and informal settlements far from the city center. There, government services are limited, schools and health care are underfunded, insecurity is rife, and jobs almost nonexistent. Transport into the center is expensive, dangerous and unreliable.

In an almost exact replica of apartheid-era urban planning, wealthy and middle-class whites are

concentrated in the city center and in well-connected suburbs. Between the townships and the well-appointed central business district are vast tracts of unused land that, if developed correctly, could work to reverse the city’s apartheid legacy by providing affordable urban housing and breaking up racial segregation. However, as is often the case when it comes to public land, history, politics, funding, government incompetence and prejudice are getting in the way.

Just a few weeks before the elections, Susan Lewis takes a walk through one of those bare patches of land. It has been turned into a temporary parking lot, taking advantage of its close proximity to Cape Town’s bustling city center. “All of this used to be houses,” says the slight, energetic 76-year-old, taking in the area with a sweep of her hand. “That is where my friends lived,” she adds, jabbing a finger at a now empty street corner. She points out the vanished movie theater, tailor shop, grocery store and halal butcher. “This is where we all used to live,” she says, “and now it is nothing but a parking lot.”

In 1966, Lewis’ District Six neighborhood, home to a 60,000-strong multiethnic and multireligious community, was declared “whites only” by the apartheid regime. Black residents like Lewis resisted, but by 1982 most of the buildings had been demolished and the inhabitants forcibly relocated to townships in the Cape Flats, a desolate patch of land 18 miles away. Uprooted from their communities, their

▲
The number of informal slums, like Imizamo Yethu, is nine times higher today than in 1994

churches, their schools and their jobs, many never recovered. Sociologists attribute much of today's township gangsterism, poverty, drug abuse and violence to the trauma of those forced relocations. "We felt so isolated," remembers Lewis, who suddenly found herself spending half her salary just to get to work. Schools in the township, if they existed at all, did little to prepare students for employment. Families split up.

The apartheid government never did rebuild District Six into a white neighborhood—by then international sanctions introduced in 1986 were taking their toll—and for the past several decades, much of the area has remained empty, a 150-acre reminder of the apartheid past torn out of the very heart of the city.

Although former residents have a right to return, under a 1994 law that promises restitution to the millions of people subjected to similar apartheid-era relocations, progress has been glacial. So far, only 139 homes have been rebuilt for former residents of District Six. Lewis was one of the lucky ones. After nine years on a waiting list, she was one of the first to move back, in 2005. She feels guilty at times, and rarely tells other former residents she meets at commemoration events. Construction on a 300-unit project was launched in 2013 but has barely progressed. Lewis peers through the chain-link fence at a pile of concrete slabs. It's a midweek afternoon, but there is only one worker to be seen. Construction was supposed to be completed in 2015 but has been repeatedly delayed. "It's crazy," says Lewis, waving at the fields around her. "All of this should be housing by now. We all need to be back where we belong."

The slow pace of development can be blamed on many factors: a lengthy claims process, disputed ownership, a lack of funding and political infighting. But time is running out. Like Lewis, most of the original claimants are elderly. She wonders how many will get a chance to return before it's too late. Once, the destruction of District Six symbolized the evils of the apartheid regime. Its reconstruction and repopulation should have been the ultimate rejoinder. Instead, the empty land is just another reminder of liberation's empty promises. Private developers have begun to nibble on the edges of this neighborhood, but with starting prices for a one-bedroom condominium in the \$100,000 range, properties are out of reach for the city's working-class population. "None of us would ever be able to afford that," says Lewis. "Before, it was the apartheid government that pushed us out of the city. Now it's the cost."

THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT of South Africa's black population dates back to the colonial era, but it was consolidated in 1948 when the national government instituted a legal policy of "apartness" or separation of races. Under apartheid, the country's majority-black inhabitants were stripped of their land, denied

a voice and forcibly relocated to specially designated developments divided by race. Homeownership by blacks under the new system was all but impossible. Equal rights may have been the rallying cry of the ANC as it fought the national government from exile, but for many South African blacks, it was the promise of reclaiming lost land that kept them motivated.

In 1991, shortly after the ANC was allowed to return to South Africa, then party Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, now the nation's President, worked on a new constitution that sought to reverse the apartheid-era depredations by guaranteeing the right of access to adequate housing for all. As the 1994 elections approached, the ruling ANC expanded on that pledge by promising subsidized houses for the poor. The goal was to counter the apartheid-era disposessions with the benefits of homeownership.

But these public-housing projects are being built on the urban periphery, replicating the township system developed under apartheid to keep black, working-class citizens isolated from the city's economic engine. "Cape Town is still an apartheid city," says Sizwe Citelo, a security guard who spends a third of his salary on the three-hour commute from his township home to his job in town. "The apartheid government took all the good land from us. Now they are gone, but we can't come back because it's too expensive."

In Cape Town, there are trains that connect the city to the townships, but they are unreliable, inconvenient and expensive. A daily commute costs about \$3 when typical service-sector jobs pay as little as \$10 a day. Because the township schools are often bad—78% of fourth-graders nationally cannot read a simple sentence—families prefer to send their kids to better schools in town, incurring further costs. "Even with a job, it's almost impossible to pull yourself out of poverty when you live in these conditions," says Axolile Notyala, general secretary of the Social Justice Coalition, a civil-society organization that works on poverty alleviation and housing rights. "Unless we fix the urban land issue, we will never be able to address the inequality in our societies."

The issue of land, and who has a right to it, has become a hot topic in the election. The Economic Freedom Fighters, a black nationalist group with a substantial representation in Parliament, has demanded the expropriation without compensation of land owned by white freeholders. The ANC, in response, adopted a more muted pledge to change the constitution to allow for the expropriation of farmland without compensation. The move has alarmed South Africa's business community as well as international investors who remember all too well the food shortages, civil unrest and economic collapse when neighboring Zimbabwe enacted similar policies two decades ago. Even U.S. President Donald Trump has weighed in, tweeting about



“land and farm seizures” from white South African farmers that haven’t happened.

The demand to expropriate white-owned farmland misses the point, says Jared Rossouw, co-director of Ndifuna Ukwazi, a Cape Town–based housing-rights organization. Reform is needed most in the urban areas where more than 70% of South Africa’s population is forecast to live by 2030, he says. “We need to build dense, we need to build tall, and we need mixed populations. We want to build vibrant communities, not slums and ghettos.” Cape Town has many opportunities for progressive urban planning, he says, but politics and greed are getting in the way.

Rossouw pulls up a map of Cape Town on his computer and points out several government-owned plots of land that are currently underutilized, from old train shunting yards to decommissioned public hospitals. The properties belong to a tangle of state and federal ministries and state-owned enterprises that can hold the land or sell it to private developers in order to raise funds. Even though technically the land belongs to the people, the public has no access to it, says Rossouw. “It’s not necessary to expropriate private land. What we really need is legislation that fundamentally transforms how the state can expropriate land from its own holdings.”

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An old
nurses’
dormitory in
Cape Town
is now under
occupation
by activists
seeking
affordable
urban
housing

EVEN WHEN IT DOES, the results aren’t always impressive. In 2017, the city of Cape Town committed to developing 11 low-cost housing projects around the inner city. Two years later, the plans have yet to be finalized. Part of the problem, says Nathan Adriaanse, spokesperson for the department of human settlements for the Western Cape government, is a scourge familiar to public-housing advocates in urban areas the world over: private-property owners whom he calls NIMBYs, for “not in my backyard.” It’s ironic, he points out, that residents of Hout Bay are willing to tolerate the informal settlement creeping up the mountainside but have rejected proposals to expand and formalize the Imizamo Yethu slum so that residents can access dignified housing. “Everyone says affordable housing can happen, should happen, as long as it doesn’t happen in my neighborhood,” says Adriaanse. “It’s hard to see where the racism ends and the classism starts.”

Some activists have taken matters into their own hands. When the city government decided, in 2016, to sell the grounds of an old public school to private developers instead of turning it into public housing, activists joined forces to stop the sale. The case is still in litigation, but a core group of those activists has since coalesced into a movement dedicated to turning unused city property into housing by dint of occupation. Taking advantage of a law that says citizens cannot be evicted unless a suitable alternative is found, the “Reclaim the City” group has moved some 1,200 people into a decommissioned hospital and an abandoned nurses’ residence.

Founding member Elizabeth Gqoboka, 50, has been living in a second-floor apartment in the old nurses’ home for nearly three years. She has privacy and a view over the city’s waterfront, but it’s hardly paradise. The electricity has been cut off, and there is only one working water tap, on the ground floor. Still, she says, living there is worth the hardship. “We are making a stand. If the government really believes in reversing the injustices of the past, it must be willing to work harder to reverse the spatial apartheid that is its legacy.”

But affordable housing in the city isn’t just about finding a domestic helper like Gqoboka a place to live near her work. It’s about undoing the deeper damages of apartheid, the sense that the country’s black population was somehow less deserving of the nation’s riches. It’s been 25 years, says Gqoboka, but she can’t shake the persistent feeling that she isn’t welcome in the city. She is tired of the fact that whenever she walks down a residential street in Cape Town, people assume she is there either to clean houses or to steal from them. “It’s like we are good enough to take care of white people’s children, but we aren’t good enough to live next door to them,” she says. That will change only when people see her for what she is: a resident. □

INTERVIEW

PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ON FIXING SOUTH AFRICA

BY ARYN BAKER

On April 15, *TIME* met with President Cyril Ramaphosa at his official residence, three weeks before the May 8 election. A longtime antiapartheid activist and high-ranking official of the ANC, the 66-year-old became Deputy President in 2014 and South Africa's fifth President in February 2018 after Jacob Zuma resigned amid allegations of corruption and "state capture"—when private companies dictate government policy. This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

TIME: You worked closely with Nelson Mandela when South Africa had its first democratic elections in 1994. Twenty-five years on, what are you doing as President to build on his vision?

Ramaphosa: Nelson Mandela laid the foundation for South Africa to be what it is today. Before he became President, months after his release from prison [in 1990], Nelson Mandela took his time to go through the country, just to see how our people were living. He came back and he said our people were living under great hardships, and he was determined to make a great effort at changing the horror that he had seen. He introduced what you could call a quasi social-welfare system that has reduced the harsh impact of poverty on our people. Much of what [the ANC] is doing is carrying on Mandela's legacy. South Africa must emerge out of this widespread poverty.

The ANC has had 25 years to reduce poverty, yet last year the World Bank declared that South Africa is the most unequal society in the world. What is to blame for that?

That inequality has its roots in our past. For instance, on education, the apartheid regime made sure that it spent almost five to six times more on a white child than it did on a black child. Economically, black people were prevented from owning businesses in the so-called

white areas. They were prevented from getting into professions.

So when we got into power, we had to deal with three things: inequality, poverty and unemployment. Poverty to a large extent has been reduced, we have reduced unemployment, we almost more than doubled the size of the economy. But inequality has remained extremely stubborn. That [is because of] an economy that is not growing fast enough. We've also made some mistakes.

Like what?

Like, for instance, apartheid designed that black people would live far away from the economic centers of our country. I was born literally 5 km from Johannesburg, but then we were [forcibly] moved 30 km out. People

spend more than 40% of their income on transport to come to the economic centers. Those are some of the things that we didn't pay close attention to, because instead of densifying our cities to bring poorer people into the cities, we continued to build houses. And we've built 4.3 million houses farther and farther away from the cities. That exacerbated our poverty.

But I always say that the glass is half full, because over the past 25 years a great deal has been achieved to change the socioeconomic landscape of South Africa. We still have enormous challenges—about 27% of our people are unemployed, and much higher for young people. But it is a challenge that we're addressing using the foundation that Nelson Mandela built for us: stable, functioning institutions that we can rely



PHOTOGRAPH BY KENT ANDREASEN FOR TIME

on. It's like shock absorbers to anything that could cause instability.

One of your biggest election issues is land reform, or the promise of restitution for and redistribution of land lost during apartheid and the colonial period. Why is that?

The land issue was the original sin that was committed against the people of South Africa. Our Freedom Charter, the guiding document for the ANC, says land shall be available to all those who work it. We will ensure that as our people get access to land, they will be able to grow the economy. We also said that as land is parceled out to people, it should not lead to lower agricultural production or threaten food security.

But the ANC manifesto now embraces expropriation of land without compensation, doesn't it?

The land question is going to be handled properly in terms of our laws, in terms of our constitution, and we will not allow any land grabs. Parliament is going to pass a law that [defines] the parcels of land that are going to be subjected to this process. The aim of all this is to give security of tenure, not only to those who own land, but to the landless as well. We will use the Mandela magic of finding solutions so that everybody feels that they are winning, and through that, we are able to build a nation and reconcile everyone. That has been my approach.

And that is why many white South Africans have not felt so fearful as to pack up their bags and go. And that is why even foreign companies have been coming to South Africa and saying, "We have confidence in your constitution, in the rule of law and your institutions." As President, I want to raise \$100 billion in the next five years. We've already gone a long way, about 33% of that amount, just in one year, showing that a number of people still have confidence in [us].

Every day new allegations surface about corruption in your party. State capture under President Jacob Zuma. Alleged corruption and criminality among current ANC leaders. What are you doing to clean up the party? There is a lot that is wrong in the party. There is a lot that we need to correct.

We have moved away from our values, our principles, and we were quite clear that we have to renew the ANC to make sure that it regains its stature, its integrity and its credibility, which it had lost over the past few years. I don't know many parties in the world that have the ability to talk openly and honestly about their weaknesses, their problems, including corruption within the party. Having done so, we [have] embarked on a process of renewal, but we also need to know the full truth of what has been happening. So we appointed commissions [to] unravel the truth.

'WE WILL USE THE MANDELA MAGIC OF FINDING SOLUTIONS SO THAT EVERYBODY FEELS THAT THEY ARE WINNING.'

What has that achieved? There have been no prosecutions, no accountability.

In the course of time, we found that the institutions that are supposed to make people accountable had also been corrupted. What was done [under Zuma] was quite deep. There was a network that was put in place to break down the institutions, to debilitate the processes of making people accountable. The police have been compromised, the prosecutors have been compromised. The Internal Revenue Service was compromised. It would be wishful thinking that compromised institutions could turn around, without them being revamped and reconstructed and repositioned.

These things do take time. But I can assure everyone is that the die is cast. These misdemeanors are going to be followed up. They are going to be properly processed, and there will be prosecutions. People will have to answer for the wrongs that they have done.

Yet many of those very same people are poised to represent the ANC at the election on May 8. How does this demonstrate the party's new stance against corruption?

That's been a result of the democratic process within the party. Some of the people argue, "I have not been charged. I have not been found guilty. These are allegations." So they are [still] on the list. It has been a rather difficult situation for the ANC. We set up an Integrity Commission, which is going to be dealing with that. We are a process-driven organization. We just don't do things recklessly, and I am not a reckless person. You've got to be proper, methodical, because that way you then avoid making mistakes.

Your critics say you are reluctant to crack down on allegedly corrupt people in your party, because you fear your presidency itself might be undermined by these rival centers of power. What do you say to them?

I know of no political party that is monolithic in terms of its unity. What we have sought to do is to forge unity in the ANC, and unity is not a one-day affair. It's a process. Am I worried? No, because the process of unity will enable everyone to see the errors of their ways. All the cows will come into the kraal [corral] eventually because the message of unity is much more powerful.

U.S. President Donald Trump has tweeted negatively about South Africa, and he still hasn't appointed an ambassador. Is the relationship between the two countries deteriorating?

The United States is a very important country, and our foreign policy is about having good relations with all nations in the world. We show serious consideration to all the nations that we deal with, and at the same time we also want to be respected. And if President Trump makes all these tweets, we've always been saying we want to engage. We want to have a discussion with him so that he can understand where we come from, because at times people say things without knowing the full background and the context. □

When Civilizations Dialogue

The upcoming Asian civilization dialogue conference aims to promote exchanges and understanding **By Shi Yongming**

The Asian civilization dialogue conference to be held in Beijing in May will explore the importance of cultural exchanges and mutual learning.

Proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping, the conference aims to promote exchanges and dialogue among different civilizations and development models. The participants include state leaders, heads of international organizations and representatives from various fields of humanities.

"We should encourage different civilizations to respect each other and live in harmony so that exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations will become a bridge promoting friendship among the peoples of the world, an engine driving the progress of human society and a bond cementing world peace," Xi said at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris in March 2014.

A prominent issue facing the changing modern era is how to build a global civilization system in the context of deepening economic globalization. The international community needs to ponder the issue of civilization so as to find the right direction for the future development of human society.

A relative concept

To this day, there is no clear definition of the word civilization. According to *A History of Civilizations* written by French historian Fernand Braudel, the word first appeared in the mid-18th century, meaning the process of becoming civilized as opposed to the state of barbarism.

The concept of civilization has an absoluteness that shows that the social governance system of human beings has developed to a certain extent. However, since civilization is the opposite of barbarism, its connotation is relative. That is, a specific form of civilization usually carries the limitations of its times. It may be a civilized society compared to the society before it, but it may very well be a barbaric society in comparison to the society that comes after.

While inspiring the Japanese to learn from modern Western civilization, Yukichi Fukuzawa, a famous Japanese intellectual, also pointed out that the wars initiated by Western countries are barbaric acts. Therefore, he suggested, when learning from Western civilization, Japan must make innovations instead of being satisfied with what it learns. But ironically, Fukuzawa, along with many others in the country who were inspired by his ideas, learned from the elements of barbarism displayed by Western civilization and embarked on a path of militaristic aggression and expansion.

Even today, Western civilization tends to use force to solve problems, and exercise power politics in the international arena. This is the biggest problem human civilization has encountered in its development.

Civilization is the targeted progress of human beings. The essential nature of a specific civilization refers to the material and spiritual wealth created by humanity for its own survival and development, which is a representative feature of human beings.

As a unique accomplishment of humanity, civilization began with the manufacturing of tools, indicating that humans had begun to break away from their natural existence to become intelligent creatures seeking self-existence. The historical progress of humanity parallels the development of civilization, while the manufacturing of tools reflects the improvement of human cognition and creativity.

Along with a material one, human beings also created a spiritual civilization, the focus of which is social construction. The development of civilization consists of material production capacity that satisfies the needs of human beings and the social construction ability that leads to harmonious and happy lives. The two aspects complement each other and propel each other in the direction of harmony and happiness. Thus, the essence of civilization is the progress of human beings with their own happiness as the core. There is no inevitable conflict among different civilizations; instead, there is a driving force for mutual integration. The factors that lead to conflict are precisely based on the reality that we are not that civilized.

Learning from others

Historically, the development of human civilization has been uneven. This imbalance is not only manifest in the difference in time, but also in geographical distribution. The relative isolation of some geographical environments and language barriers have led to cultural differences, which is a manifestation of civilization. In spite of this, there is almost no civilization that is isolated from the world or that can rely solely on its own development. Learning from foreign cultures is an important step in the development of various civilizations.

The European alphabet was created by ancient Egyptians, traveled through Greece and Rome, and finally was introduced to the rest of Europe. Learning what already exists is much easier than creating something new; this simple truth shows that a civilization that is willing to develop is also willing to learn from others. Therefore, mutual learning among different civilizations is a natural occurrence, but something that may be more common in Asia.

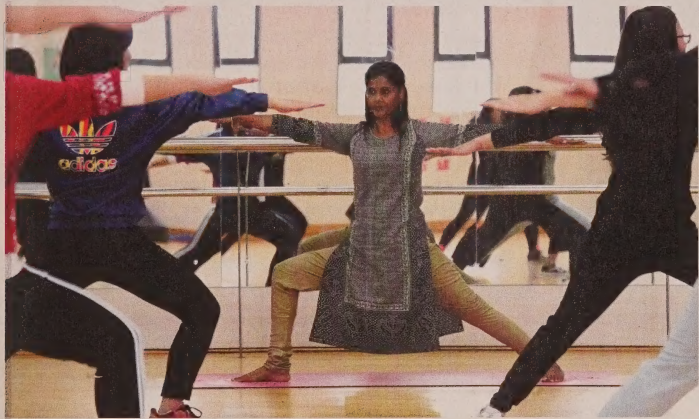
For example, during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), China sent Xuanzang, an eminent



The author is an op-ed contributor to *Beijing Review* and a senior expert on international studies



Musicians from Kazakhstan play traditional instruments during the opening ceremony of the 2016 Silk Road International Expo in Xi'an, northwest China's Shaanxi Province, on May 13, 2016



An Indian yoga teacher with her students at the Yunnan Minzu University in Kunming, southwest China's Yunnan Province, on April 27, 2017

Buddhist monk, to India to study Buddhism. Japan dispatched envoys to China to learn Chinese culture during that same period. This shows Asian countries conducted cultural exchanges in a civilized way in history. Of course, the true meaning of civilization is not simply copying from others, but re-creating after learning.

Downside of interventionism

In many other cases, however, interaction among civilizations was achieved through conflict. The spread of modern Western civilization relied mainly on conquest by force.

The Western conquest of the world has brought two innovations, namely, globalization and modernization. For Asian countries, traditional cultures are thus challenged. Almost no Asian country has rejected these innovations but they have been challenged as to how to synergize them with their traditional cultures. The difficulties lie to some extent in differences in cultural structures, but mainly in self-centered Western interventionism, which deprives people of the right to construct their own civilizations and turns the process of mutual learning into a kind of obedience, which is harmful for all.

After World War II, with the establishment

of the United Nations, the construction of human civilization entered a new stage of economic cooperation based on sovereign equality, cultural diversity and social development. However, the Cold War led to estrangement and rivalry among some countries in Asia.

With economic globalization after the Cold War, the cooperation momentum in the Asian region was enhanced. But mutual recognition is still obstructed by several factors. The clash of civilizations and values as well as geopolitical conflicts in the international community have posed many problems for cooperation among Asian countries.

The common issue facing Asian countries is how to develop their own countries. The process of modernization is not merely about economic development, nor is it a simple process of upgrading the superstructure, which may involve a cultural transformation as well. Since modernization features Western civilization at its core, it still contains the barbaric factors Fukuzawa once pointed out.

Asian countries need to absorb the essence of human progress, discard the dross, carry forward the fine traditions of their own civilizations, and walk their own path of mutual learning and re-creating. Promoting dialogue among Asian countries is a joint effort to re-create civilization and build a bright future for all. ■

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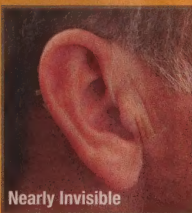
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Time Off

A photograph of Eve Ensler, a woman with short blonde hair, sitting on a red wooden chair. She is wearing a white long-sleeved shirt with a colorful floral pattern and dark jeans. She is barefoot and has her legs crossed at the ankles. The chair is positioned in front of a large, dark red wooden cabinet. On top of the cabinet is a red ceramic vase. The floor is made of wood, and there is a patterned rug under the chair. The background wall is white with a light switch.

A MODEST PROPOSAL
In a new book, feminist pioneer Eve Ensler suggests men do the unthinkable: apologize

INSIDE

A DOCUMENTARY EXPLORES THE FOSTER-CARE SYSTEM

CHARLIZE THERON STEALS THE SHOW IN A POLITICAL ROM-COM

BIRDS OF A FEATHER IN NETFLIX'S TUCA & BERTIE

BOOKS

Eve Ensler wants an apology

By Eliana Dockterman

THIS ISN'T A PSYCHOLOGIST'S OFFICE. IT'S A cavernous Manhattan loft, the kind with an elevator that opens directly into the apartment. But my conversation with its resident, famed feminist Eve Ensler, feels suspiciously like a therapy session. And I'm the patient.

I should have seen this coming. Ensler, 65, has always been the probing sort: She made her name interviewing women about their genitalia, sexuality and body image, performing versions of their stories in *The Vagina Monologues*. Twenty-three years later, it remains a seminal feminist text and has been staged in more than 140 countries.

Today I'm here to talk to Ensler about a particularly difficult subject: her claim that her father physically and sexually assaulted her throughout her childhood, a topic she has historically evaded in interviews but is finally ready to address head-on. Thirty-one years after her father's death, Ensler has written an apology to herself in his voice. That letter, spanning 112 pages, fills her physically slight but emotionally weighty book, *The Apology*, out May 14.

Ensler tells me that it's one of her "deep fantasies" that abusers will use her book as a blueprint for an apology done right. She's been disappointed by the self-pitying public statements released, particularly over the past year and a half, by men accused of abusing women. "I haven't seen a single man reckon with what he's done," she says. "Sixteen thousand years of patriarchy, and I don't know that I've ever heard a real, public apology from a man."

The question of whether people who abuse others should have a public voice at all is itself controversial, and Ensler never expected to advocate hearing out the accused. In 2015, she wrote a piece for this magazine in which she compared the quest to understand Bill Cosby, who was facing multiple accusations of sexual assault, to the agony she felt in dissecting her father's behavior: "I cannot explain why these men did what they did," she wrote. "I've given way too many years analyzing their perverse psychology, and I've exhausted every option. I no longer give a damn."

But here she is, tackling that very project. Sitting beside her at a long wooden table, I read her own quote back to her and ask her what's changed. "Look—it took me 65 years to get here," she says. "I needed to be enraged for a long time." She equates living with trauma to living in a cage. "Sometimes you shake the cage, sometimes you try to steal the key—all survivors are in that process." She needed to write this apology to free herself, and she thinks doing the same might unburden other women too. "It's not prescriptive," she says. "But it's deeply healing."

Here is where things go awry. This is a challenging subject, and as we begin to talk about trauma and healing, I try the old reporter's trick where you offer a morsel of your

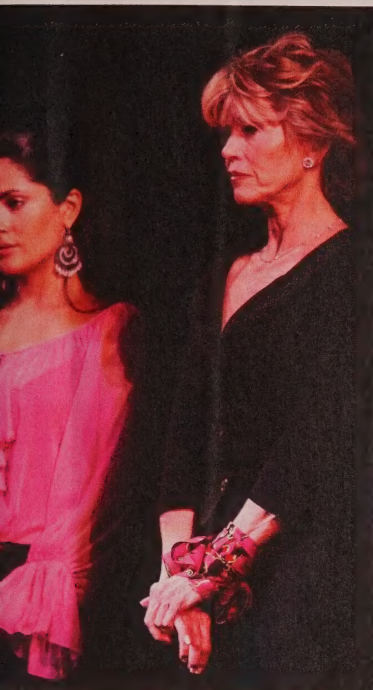


Ensler performs her breakout play *The Vagina Monologues* in 2006

own experience in hopes of evening the playing field and deepening the conversation. But by the end of our talk, she's unpacking the aftershocks of a traumatic experience from my life, asking personal questions that send me reeling. I leave the interview shaking.

ENSLEER WANTS TO SHARE a spiritual experience—with me, and with all women. She likens writing *The Apology* to a fever dream. She believes her father came to her during the process. "It's not even my language, a lot of it," she says. "If someone beats you or rapes you or molests you, they enter [your consciousness]. And what I learned from this book is you can change the trajectory of your ongoing, internal dialogue with your perpetrator."

Ensler suddenly "realized," as she puts it, aspects of her father's life that he never told her, beginning with how he was overindulged by his mother. "Adoration is a way of killing people's humanity," she says. In her view, her father never learned to doubt himself or empathize with others. And like his entire generation of men, he was taught



not to cry.

At some point, he started watching Cary Grant movies—he looked just like Cary Grant—and discovered that he could cover up his growing callousness with charm. His personality split in two: the seducer and the sadist. He was the type of man who would never apologize for anything. Within the metaphysical world imagined by Ensler in *The Apology*, he only speaks to her because he's been trapped in a torturous limbo for the three decades since his death.

She believes apologies are for both the person who gives and the person who receives. Offering an apology isn't a punishment for an abuser—it's a liberation. Yet according to her book, apologies have strict guidelines: the perpetrator must say the crime out loud; acknowledge how his actions have impacted his victim; empathize with her; feel profound remorse; and do "extensive work" to understand what made him commit the crime.

I tell Ensler this framework seems unrealistic to me. I once spent several days observing convicted rapists in court-mandated sex-offender therapy for a

story, and they struggled with this sort of self-reflection and empathy even after years of treatment. In her book, Ensler imagines her father uttering lines like, "I am profoundly grateful [to you]. How odd. I was never grateful... Why would I be grateful when the world was rightfully endowed to me?" Nobody speaks this way, and some may find the book flat in its one-dimensional depiction of the two characters. But others might say, fairly, that the emotional resonance of a work of art matters more than its realism. Ensler's stories about the abuse and how she hardened herself in response to it are undeniably shattering.

Even so, the book's greatest strength may be in its potential as a piece of activism. So many #MeToo conversations take place among women, rather than between women and men. Ensler believes that apologies like the one she has put forth could create a bridge. In that spirit, she plans to launch a website where survivors can submit anonymous letters they've written in the voices of their abusers, and hopes some perpetrators might contribute too. And someday, men might perform these apologies onstage—an inversion of *The Vagina Monologues*.

MY TALK WITH ENSLER about *The Apology* broadens into a larger discussion about how to handle all the bad men. Men, she asserts, are hurt as much by the patriarchy as women are. I agree. We discuss the anxieties so many of us face about raising boys to become respectful, empathetic men in a culture that prioritizes their needs over those of women. I tell her that raising a "good boy" seems hard, and that I worry about how I might someday do it. And without meaning to, I've opened a door.

Later, once I have turned off my recorder, she does what she has done with so many other women: She asks me about myself. But it feels more like she is telling me about myself. She suggests that my anxiety about having a male child is connected to my fear that he will grow up to hurt women in the same way that I was hurt. She theorizes that I've spent so much of my career

writing about feminism, sexism, assault and harassment as a direct response to my own experience. Writing this book, she says, made her feel like an artist reborn—freed from the shackles of only creating work about her trauma. She tells me to write my own letter, so I can feel that too.

In this moment, I want to believe her. She has spent her entire career speaking to abused women. Her nonprofit V-Day, founded after *The Vagina Monologues* debuted, has been a force in the global fight against gender violence, including rape and genital mutilation. I have always seen her as a spokesperson for the female experience as she has used her own voice to amplify other women's stories of joy and suffering onstage in her most famous work, as well as her plays *Emotional Creature*, about girls' experiences growing up, and *The Good Body*,

about women's struggles with their health and appearance. The weight of her authority is almost crushing. Still, I demur. "I think I'm fine," I tell her.

But when I leave Ensler's loft, my heart is pounding. I stop on a park bench nearby, in the hopes that I might "realize"—in her vocabulary—something

about the person who hurt me. For days after I wonder if I will suddenly find myself, pen in hand, beginning to craft the apology he never offered, liberating me from some years-long burden. But my ghost doesn't arrive. Neither does the impulse to conjure him.

Who am I to disagree with this elder stateswoman of feminism who has endured so much yet still strives to find ways to heal herself and her gender? Maybe Ensler was able to produce a more rigorous and truthful psychological assessment of me in two hours than I have been able to do for myself in a lifetime. Maybe her recommendation, writing this letter, would suture a wound I didn't even know I had.

Or maybe it wouldn't. Because every woman knows what it's like to do a man's emotional labor for him, and I've grown weary of that. Sure, I could write a fantasy of an apology. But I'd rather have no apology at all. □

'It took me 65 years to get here. I needed to be enraged for a long time.'

EVE ENSLER,
on reckoning with
childhood abuse



"I like a challenge," says Beavers, with foster daughter Sydney

REVIEW

Families are the worst, and the best, in *Foster*

By Belinda Luscombe

EARCYLENE BEAVERS ALWAYS WANTED A LOT OF children, and she got her wish—just not the way she expected. Beavers, who's in her 60s, gave birth to a daughter, but has mothered more children than she can count through the foster system. She currently has four at home, including one of the three she adopted, Jake, who has cerebral palsy.

While the rate of child maltreatment has dropped in the past 30 years, U.S. child-protection authorities still get about 4 million calls a year. Research suggests that 1 in 8 American children is neglected or abused by the age of 18. It's one thing to know the numbers behind the foster-care system. But it's quite another to watch Denyshia, 13, one of Beavers' charges, say matter-of-factly, "I was abandoned... I didn't think no one would ever want me."

America's foster-care system, which is typically covered by the media only in the wake of egregious failures and the discovery of horrifically treated children, has recently been receiving a second look. The TV show *The Fosters* had a respectable five-year run until 2018, the same year Sean Anders' semi-autobiographical comedy *Instant Family* found box-office success. Now there's the documentary *Foster*, debuting May 7 on HBO, which takes a look at the guts of the Los Angeles department of children's services, the largest county child-protection agency in America.

Beavers is one of several admirable people the documentary follows, along with judges, commissioners, social workers,

lawyers, first responders and child advocates. The humanity of each one is beyond dispute. Yet, as the film shows, the system they help comprise looks different for the people caught in it—like Dasani, 16, who is put in juvenile hall after an alleged fight at his group home is followed by a positive test for marijuana. If he had parents, they'd handle it in-house—but the man he called his dad murdered his mom. The menu of disciplinary responses for kids in foster care is much sparser and usually involves law enforcement, so Dasani winds up under court supervision.

THE FOSTER SYSTEM is difficult for media to portray well for a reason: it's built to protect young people, both their safety and their privacy. One of the real achievements of the filmmakers, producer Deborah Oppenheimer and director Mark Jonathan Harris (who together won an Oscar for *Into the Arms of Strangers*, a film with a related theme), is the legwork they must have done to earn the trust of many of the system's players. Oppenheimer went for ride-alongs with social workers late at night to see how they worked, and the crew was granted close access to the courts, even following one couple as they try to win their newborn daughter back after the mother tests positive for cocaine in the labor ward.

What the film makes clear is that many people who work in the foster system are as good-hearted, skilled and industrious as you could hope humans who work with fragile children would be. And yet the system struggles mightily to be anything approaching humane. The infrastructure that must be built when a family collapses does not have the luxury of being graceful. "This work is hard as hell," says foster child turned social worker Jessica Chandler in one of the film's blunter moments.

Oppenheimer says she hoped to make a hopeful film, one in which Beavers gets legal guardianship of one of her foster children, Dasani is not incarcerated, and the drug-taking mom gets clean and reunites her family. But as the credits roll, the epilogues do too. Beavers is inundated with requests to help. Nobody takes in Dasani. The new parents split. When families come apart, victories don't last long.

The infrastructure that must be built when a family collapses does not have the luxury of being graceful



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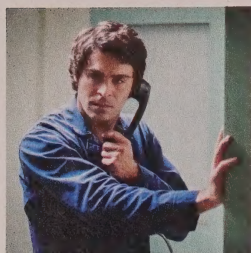
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Efron as Bundy: killer charisma

REVIEW

You'd fall for him too

There's nothing more unsettling than acknowledging serial killers as people: it's much more convenient to think of them as monsters. That's the nerve director Joe Berlinger strikes with *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil and Vile*, his unsettling drama recounting the grisly story of sociopathic murderer Ted Bundy through the eyes of his longtime girlfriend Liz Kendall, who clung to her belief in his innocence even as the evidence against him mounted.

Zac Efron plays Bundy, the bright aspiring lawyer who used his charms to put women at ease before brutally murdering them. (In 1989, just before his execution, he confessed to 30 such murders, though authorities believe the true number is much higher.) Lily Collins plays Liz, the single mom who served as an anchor in Bundy's life—though his professed need for her may have been just one of his gnarled deceptions. It's hard to know for sure, but both performances are terrific. Efron's affable charisma is chilling and persuasive, while Collins is tenderly sympathetic to Liz's anguish. She's like a sleepwalker in love, drifting toward a cruel awareness: the man of her dreams is also her worst nightmare.

—Stephanie Zacharek

REVIEW

Theron is a sure thing in *Long Shot*

AMAZINGLY—OR PERHAPS NOT—ONLY now, almost 20 years into the 21st century, has the culture finally begun to acknowledge how women are held to standards we'd never apply to men, especially in the political arena. Her voice is too shrill! You wouldn't want to have a beer with her! Her hand gestures are annoying! By the time anyone gets around to asking a female candidate about policy, she's lucky if she hasn't been scrutinized into a pile of dust.

In *Long Shot*, directed by Jonathan Levine (*The Wackness*, *Snatched*), Seth Rogen plays Fred Flarsky, a crusading, schlubby-but-cute journalist at an alternative newspaper who quits on principle when his outlet is bought by a Rupert Murdoch-type tycoon (Andy Serkis). Luckily, he lands another job almost immediately, as a speechwriter for brilliant presidential hopeful Charlotte Field (Charlize Theron), who used to be his babysitter. Charlotte is currently Secretary of State, and her platform involves a set of ambitious environmental initiatives. Fred helps her find effective ways to sell her ideas, and the two fall in love. Miraculously, the movie makes you believe it.

Even more believable, though, are

Charlotte's efforts to be taken seriously as a candidate: the world has a hard time accepting that such a dazzling, sophisticated woman could also be smart enough to be President. *Long Shot* features some wonderful, wicked gags, like Lisa Kudrow in a cameo as a campaign consultant who has parsed every nuance of Charlotte's mannerisms and assessed them for likability. (She informs the aspiring Commander in Chief that to win, she'll have to completely rework the dynamics of her wave: "The level of elbow movement freaks people out.")

Wisely, Levine and writers Liz Hanan and Dan Sterling don't fixate too much on Fred's "Can you believe I landed this amazing girlfriend?" astonishment. That puts most of the focus on Theron, where it should be. She's a marvelous comic actor, as at home with bawdy humor as with the brainier kind, and her timing has its own rare and specific style: her lines tend to tilt sideways, with the quiet finesse of a balsa-wood glider, before coming in for a soft but neat landing. She's an elegant goofball, funny in an over-the-shoulder way, not an in-your-face way, and every moment spent watching her is a pleasure. Hail to the chief. —s.z.



Rogen and Theron keep democracy alive

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Judy (Cardellini, left) and Jen (Applegate) drown their sorrows

TELEVISION

Strife after death on Netflix

By Judy Berman

"WHEREVER JUDY GOES, CHAOS TENDS to follow." So says James Marsden in the Netflix black comedy *Dead to Me*. Taken together, his utterance (an early contender for my own epitaph) and the fact that a long list of embargoed spoilers prevents me from even writing his character's name illustrate much of this addictive new show's appeal. The story packs big twists into each half-hour episode—most of them driven by the kind but unmoored Judy (Linda Cardellini), who's constantly ratcheting up the entropy.

Created by Liz Feldman, a writer and producer of the broad CBS sitcom *2 Broke Girls*, *Dead to Me* makes for a much sharper series about an unlikely friendship between two women. An uptight California real estate agent and mom of two boys, Christina Applegate's Jen has recently lost her husband Ted in a hit-and-run. Unable to control her rage at the unknown driver and sluggish police investigation, she turns to a be-reavement support group.

It's there that she meets Judy, another grieving 40-something, whose hippie calm soothes Jen's anger. Judy soon moves into her friend's guest-house, becoming the adult confidante

and surrogate second parent Jen so desperately needs.

But what initially appears to be a gentle dramedy about an odd couple healing together soon becomes a tart thriller fueled by the many secrets Judy, Jen and the people who surround them are holding inside. If some of these lies are hard to swallow—and Feldman teases the biggest bombshell far more often than is actually effective—the slow pace at which the deceptions reveal themselves matches the speed at which we get to know the characters. Informed by Jen and Judy's superficial brand of feminism ("Don't be a woman who blames the woman," one scolds the other), the dialogue rings true. Even better is the chemistry between Cardellini and Applegate, ideal foils who balance keen comic instincts with raw emotion.

As the show suggests, we tend to see other people not as they are but as we need them to be, constructing elaborate fictions to convince ourselves that we'll never get hurt by the people we love. It's a depressing truth about relationships of all kinds—and Cardellini and Applegate mine it richly in this absurdist caper. □

TELEVISION

Bird city

Broad City is dead, but its spirit of metropolitan millennial friendship lives on in Netflix's *Tuca & Bertie*, an animated comedy from *BoJack Horseman* vet Lisa Hanawalt. It's a fun, watchable show, though its obsession with woke relevance eventually starts to grate.

Like *BoJack*, *Tuca* is populated by animals (and some plants) with humanoid bodies. A free-spirited toucan gambling on the gig economy, Tuca (voiced by Tiffany Haddish) is the confident, hypersexual Ilana of the pair. That makes Bertie (Ali Wong) the Abbi, a neurotic songbird who's leaning in to her boring job at publisher "Condé Nest" but dreams of becoming a pastry chef. After years as roommates, Tuca has just moved upstairs so Bertie can cohabit with her bland boyfriend, Speckles (Steven Yeun).

Their adventures are often delightful. Haddish nails every one-liner. Hanawalt's kinetic animation facilitates some wild, surreal comedy. Yet *Tuca* tries so hard to be relatable that it can feel pandering. Season 1 cycles through #MeToo, impostor syndrome, self-care, mental illness, sober dating and fear of commitment as though it's marking items on a checklist. For a show that looks like *BoJack* and borrows from *Broad City*—two comedies that take very different but equally elegant approaches to topical issues—that clunkiness is disappointing. —J.B.





Legasov (Harris, right) speaks scientific truth to absolute power

TELEVISION

The timely lessons of *Chernobyl*

By Judy Berman

YOU KNOW YOU'RE IN FOR A BLEAK story when the hero kills himself in the first scene, as Jared Harris' character does at the outset of HBO's *Chernobyl*. Not that anyone who tunes in to a miniseries with a title like that should be surprised to find out they're in for five hours of anguish, terror and death. There's no bright side to the 1986 reactor explosion that likely killed thousands in Soviet Ukraine, rendering the surrounding area uninhabitable for centuries to come and making the word *Chernobyl* synonymous with the risks of nuclear energy. But, grim as it is, the saga still has plenty of political resonance.

The show's structure is unnecessarily complicated. After flashing forward to the suicide of Harris' Valery Legasov in 1988, creator Craig Mazin jumps jarringly back to the night of the explosion. An action spectacle that dominates the premiere, which airs on May 6, this sequence captures the scale of Chernobyl's mismanagement—yet it doesn't connect emotionally, because we don't know anything about the workers caught in this radioactive death trap. Ostensibly to build suspense about what really caused the disaster—which feels a bit inappropriate

in the context of a historical tragedy—Mazin saves what small glimpses he provides into their backstories for the final episode. Only the wife of an injured firefighter gets an ongoing subplot, one that gives her little to do besides weep.

The real leads don't come to the fore until the day after the explosion. Legasov is a renowned nuclear physicist; Boris Shcherbina (Stellan Skarsgård) is the gravel-voiced Communist Party man who travels with him to the still burning time bomb of a power plant; and Emily Watson plays Ulana Khomyuk, a brilliant, righteous (and fictional) scientist who tries to keep the panicked Legasov honest. As they appeal to politicians all the way up to Gorbachev, *Chernobyl* becomes a life-or-death struggle between experts and the ignorant bureaucrats for whom their warnings are an inconvenient truth.

This drives home the many obvious failures of Soviet authoritarianism, of course, and the ongoing threat of nuclear annihilation. At its best, however, *Chernobyl* demonstrates what happens when societies stop listening to science. Amid our rapidly worsening global climate crisis, it's a critical message. □

TELEVISION

Love in the time of Brexit

Divorce is the metaphor of the hour in the U.K., now three years into a half-hearted attempt to extricate itself from the European Union. So there's more than just one couple's marital woes fueling *State of the Union*, a SundanceTV short-form series from writer Nick Hornby and director Stephen Frears that will air on 10 consecutive nights starting on May 6. Set in a nondescript British bar, each 10-minute episode is a conversation between Rosamund Pike's pragmatic Louise and Chris O'Dowd's moody Tom before their weekly therapy session; she cheated, he moved out, and now the parents of two are trying to save their family.

Though the characters are archetypal opposites, as scripted by Hornby and portrayed by the likable leads, they're also longtime spouses with a distinctive shared language of imagination and overanalysis. Along with sex, Syria and movie taste, Brexit inevitably comes up. (He voted Leave; she voted Remain.) The underlying personal and political question is: Can people with little in common but entwined fortunes and lots of shared history maintain a united front? It's a thought that resonates far beyond Europe's borders. —J.B.



Louise (Pike) and Tom (O'Dowd) hold peace talks

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If you are a Settlement Class Member and do not want to remain in the Settlement Class, you may exclude yourself by request, *received by July 3, 2019*, in accordance with the Notice. If you exclude yourself, you will *not* be bound by any Court decisions in this litigation and you will *not receive a payment*, but you will retain any right you may have to pursue your own litigation at your own expense concerning the settled claims. Objections to the settlement, Plan of Allocation, or request for attorneys' fees and expenses must be *received by July 3, 2019*, in accordance with the Notice.

A hearing will be held on **August 8, 2019 at 11:00 a.m.**, before the Honorable Valerie E. Caproni, at the Thurgood Marshall U.S. Courthouse, 40 Foley Square, NY, NY 10007, to determine if the settlement, Plan of Allocation, and/or request for fees and expenses should be approved. Supporting papers will be posted on the website once filed.

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TimeOff Reviews



Chelsea Zervas is among the gymnasts who shared stories of abuse

TELEVISION

Gymnastic gold at an unbearable price

By Alice Park

THERE'S A BITTERSWEET TINGE TO HBO'S CHRONICLE OF what may be the most extensive sexual-abuse scandal in sports history. The network's new documentary *At the Heart of Gold: Inside the USA Gymnastics Scandal* introduces us to a handful of the hundreds of young women—from local gymnasts to university athletes to Olympic team members—who were sexually abused over nearly two decades by Larry Nassar, a team doctor for USA Gymnastics. Nassar is now serving up to 175 years in prison for his criminal behavior, but for the survivors, the story isn't quite over.

It can't be, as they make clear in the film, since the damage caused by Nassar's abuse has left lasting emotional scars. The documentary doesn't fully answer the question of why Nassar wasn't banned from working with athletes after his abuse was reported as early as 1997, nor that of why the organizations these girls and women trusted with their careers and their personal safety didn't do more to protect them. In nearly all of the cases, the girls were sent to see Nassar to treat injuries by people they trusted: their coaches and trainers at both USA Gymnastics (USAG) and Michigan State University (MSU), where he also worked. (USAG still faces multiple lawsuits by gymnasts, and could lose its status as a national governing body for its inaction.)

Nassar's sentence is a Pyrrhic victory at best, stinging all the more since, in the opinion of the survivors, the institutions responsible still haven't been held fully accountable. "I feel only part of justice has been served," says Larissa Boyce, a former MSU gymnast who was among Nassar's first victims in 1997. "Hundreds of girls who were abused—some weren't even born yet when I reported."

It was a culture in which perfection is the goal and gymnasts are seen but not heard that created the ideal environment for a predator like Nassar—and it's the culture that still needs to change. When athletes, especially children, come forward with allegations of abuse, "people need to start by believing," says Boyce. "We aren't there yet. A lot more needs to be done."



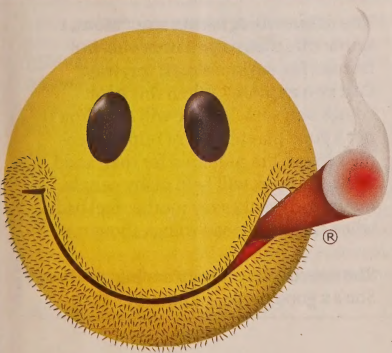
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8 Questions

Emily Oster The economist and author of the modern pregnancy bible *Expecting Better* on her new book about data-driven parenting in the early years, *Cribsheet*

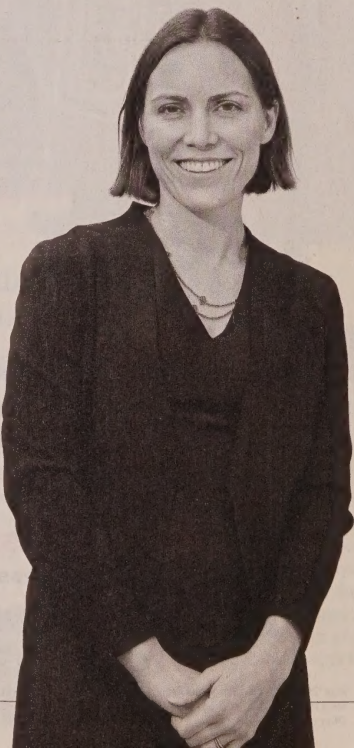
An economist isn't the first person you'd expect to get parenting advice from. How did you decide to apply that framework to this subject? I got pregnant. I started using a lot of the decision-making and data-analysis tools I use in my job to make choices about my pregnancy and then my parenting.

When you were deciding what to cover in *Cribsheet*, did parents seem particularly desperate for answers in certain areas? People are very starved for answers on breastfeeding and want to know how big a deal it is. They were also starved for answers on the how-tos of breastfeeding. The other place is sleep. It can be hard to get good answers about co-sleeping or sleep training.

You find some evidence supporting the benefits of breastfeeding, but not an overwhelming amount. Should hospitals put so much energy into promoting it? It is a good idea to provide support to women who want to breastfeed, and we don't provide as much as we should. You're telling people, "You have to do this," and then, "Don't take your breast out in public." But many women feel pressure and shame if they don't want to breastfeed or if it doesn't work. Misleading people about the size of the benefits, which only adds to that shame, is not good.

Truth itself feels slippery these days. Is there a parallel between parents wanting to believe their way is right and people wanting to believe their political views are right? There's this idea about motivated reasoning, more in psychology than in economics. You adapt the evidence to support your view. People do that in politics, and they do it here for the same reasons—people really care, and they want to make the right decision and to have made the right decision. It's hard to admit, I made the wrong choice, or it didn't matter, there are a lot of right choices.

PEOPLE REALLY CARE, AND THEY WANT TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION AND TO HAVE MADE THE RIGHT DECISION



You write that as kids get older, it gets harder to apply data to parenting. Could you write more books in this vein? Every kid is different, and they become more different as they get older. It's harder to think about data speaking to the questions you would have—What's the right kind of school? Should my kid skip a grade? I'm not sure I have as much to bring to the table.

When you were 2, you were the subject of a study called *Narratives From the Crib*, in which your parents recorded your precocious chatter to yourself in your crib. How do you feel about having been a research subject as a kid? I don't have any strong positive or negative feelings about it. I sometimes think about would I have done the same thing with my kids, and I think the answer is probably yes. Particularly with very little kids, I'm not sure there's so much privacy to protect.

You write about topics of heated debate like vaccines and circumcision. Do you get hate tweets shooting the messenger for delivering the data? I certainly got some with *Expecting Better*. I expect I will get more of it. There are relatively few things—vaccinations is an exception—where I say, I think the right decision is x, because in most cases the best decision involves taking into account the preferences and constraints of the family. I still expect a lot of angry tweets.

The acknowledgments say, "Mom, I know this makes you nervous, but thanks for supporting it anyway." Can you explain? When this book comes out, some people will say, "You're not a good parent, you're ruining people's lives." I'm prepared for that, and I think the book will help many people, but it really makes my mother feel bad when people say bad things about me.

She sounds like a very caring mother. She's a good mom. —ELIZA BERMAN


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REFERENCES: 1. FreeStyle Libre 14 day User's Manual. 2. Data on file. Abbott Diabetes Care.

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